



THE LIFE OF
General Robert E. Lee

By G. MERCER ADAM

THE LIFE-CAREER AND MILITARY
ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE GREAT
SOUTHERN GENERAL, WITH A
RECORD OF THE CAMPAIGNS OF
THE ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA



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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. Introductory.....	1
II. Birth, Youthhood, and Early Career.....	17
III. In the Mexican War	27
IV. The Interval between the Mexican War and the War for the Union.....	44
V. The Opposing Forces Preparing for Conflict.....	60
VI. The Drama Opens.....	72
VII. The Campaign against Pope in Northern Vir- ginia, and the Second Battle of Bull Run.....	95
VIII. The Maryland Campaign.....	104
IX. The Fredericksburg Campaign (Oct.-Dec., 1862) and the Edict of Emancipation.....	119
X. The Chancellorsville Campaign and Battle.....	129
XI. The Second Invasion of the North, and the Battle of Gettysburg (July 1-3, 1863).....	146
XII. Lee Retreats to Virginia and Winters behind the Rapidan	166
XIII. The Wilderness Campaign.....	175
XIV. Operations on the South Side of the James River, and the Siege of Petersburg.....	191
XV. The Autumn of 1864, and the Winter of 1864-65..	213
XVI. Operations in Georgia, Tennessee, and the Caro- linas in the Winter of 1864-65.....	239

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER	PAGE
XVII. The Close of the Long Struggle.....	249
XVIII. The Retirement from Petersburg and Richmond.	266
XIX. Grant's Peace Overtures to Lee, and the Surrender at Appomattox.....	276
XX. General Lee installed as President of Washington College, Lexington, Va.....	298
XXI. Evening Shadows, and Death.....	311

PREFACE.

THOUGH more than a generation has now elapsed since General Robert E. Lee passed from the scenes of his illustrious deeds, public interest in the great soldier and his career is still active, and turns with increasing curiosity to any attractive recital of the incidents in his eventful life—many as are the biographies that have already been published of him. Nor is this perennial interest in the loved hero of “a Lost Cause” to be wondered at, when we recall not only the historical importance of the long struggle in which he so nobly fought, and against such heavy odds ; but the remarkable military ability and eminently high character of the man whose career is identified with the great conflict, and whose life-story is throughout so attractive and inspiring.

The era is now passed when, in the North, Confederates and their sympathizers were hotly stigmatized as “rebels,” and when their attitude and their cause were aspersed as hateful as well as treasonable. To-day, the drama of the Civil War

has gone into the limbo of history, and can now be written about dispassionately and, even on the Southern side, with admiring Northern curiosity and interest. This is one of the manifest advantages the modern-day writer has in dealing with the events of the distracting and calamitous period, and in reviewing the whole story with calm deliberation and historic impartiality. Another and special advantage has the narrator of the era's annals, when, as is the present case, he is writing biography as well as history, and has so entrancing a theme to deal with as the life-career and achievements of so distinguished and revered an actor in the tragedy of the Civil War as General Robert E. Lee. For the latter and his estimable character the present writer has always had the highest regard, and even veneration ; and though this perhaps may not shield him from criticism should there be found shortcomings in the within work, it ought at least to placate the reader towards the author of it, if he is also an admirer of Lee, and lead him to be at once indulgent and friendly.

G. M. A.

LIFE OF GENERAL LEE.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

IN attempting to write a record of the Life and Career of General Robert E. Lee, the great commander of the Southern Army in the Civil War, the author undertakes the work with some diffidence and misgiving. This is occasioned, in part, by a sense of responsibility in undertaking so important a task—a task that had already been so well achieved by other and prominent biographers of “the hero of a Lost Cause”; and in part also, by a doubt in the present writer’s mind of being able to do adequate justice to so eminent an actor in the drama of his time, who was, moreover, one of the greatest soldiers and most clever military tacticians of the past century, and, withal, a splendid type of Christian manhood. Here, however, the writer’s hesitation ends, and the impelling motive finally becomes admiration—long

and heartily entertained—for the noble theme of this volume, and the ambition to add another, and it is hoped a not unworthy tribute, to the fame of the illustrious General, who was personally not only greatly beloved and highly esteemed in his day, but whose professional eminence among the renowned commanders of the war is conceded by every critic and writer of distinction who has dealt with its tragic annals.

But great as is the niche filled by the grand old soldier in the history of the Southern side of the Civil War contest, we must remember that this is not all we have to deal with in relating the life and military exploits of the man, since long before the outbreak of the War of the Rebellion and his espousal of the interests of his native State in that dire struggle, Lee had had a lengthened, varied, and honorable career of service in the Army of the United States. In that service, not only had he won distinction as chief engineer officer and active combatant in the War with Mexico, where he rendered heroic and conspicuous service at the siege of Vera Cruz, and was wounded in the assault; but was, moreover, of invaluable service to the commander of the expedition, General Winfield Scott, in his council of officers, as well as in important reconnoissances,

in planting batteries, in conducting columns from point to point under fire during the assault upon the place, and taking part in the onerous and often perilous operations of the siege. For this highly efficient work he was repeatedly mentioned in the General's despatches ; while from the campaign as a whole he issued, as it has been said, "crowned with honors and covered with brevets for gallant and meritorious conduct." After this we find Lee engaged in the important duty of constructing defensive works at various points for the Washington government ; and during the year 1852-55, he acted as commandant of the Military Academy at West Point, of which he was himself a distinguished graduate. Later on, Colonel Lee was transferred from the Engineers to the Cavalry branch of the service, when he held for a time responsible posts in Kentucky, Missouri, Kansas, and Texas, and was at Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, at the era of the John Brown raid. When Civil War loomed upon the scene, Lee, as we shall ere long see, had reached his fifty-fourth year, and had thirty-two years of honorable service to his credit in the national army. Moreover, so conspicuous had been his career, and so highly esteemed was he as an officer and a gentleman, that, had he remained in the service of the Union,

his name, it is well known, was designed to be brought before the military authorities of the nation and that favorably, as the successor in the chief command of the army to the then aged warrior, General Winfield Scott. Nor, at the crisis that then fell upon the country, was Lee actuated by caprice or mere partisanship in taking sides with the South in the calamitous war that was about to ensue and drench the land in fratricidal blood. His attitude was far otherwise ; for at first we know that he regarded Secession as anarchical, if not treasonable, and looked with grave apprehension upon the threatened rupture of the Union, and was ill at ease at the prospect of the disseverance of his own relations with the North and the breaking of the ties, professional and social, that had hitherto connected him with its military service. The slavery question did not appeal to him as a cause of sectional strife, his chief concern being the attitude of his native State in the unhappy prospect of war, for to his loved Commonwealth of Virginia he was chivalrously loyal, and if strife was to come he felt that he could not draw his sword against her and her interests. This was his answer to his friend and superior officer, General Winfield Scott, as well as to the Hon. Montgomery Blair, son of the then

Postmaster-General of Washington, who was authorized to offer Lee command of the Federal army if he would remain stanch in his fidelity to the Union. In deserting the Northern cause, he asserted that he could not consult his own feelings entirely, so strong was his allegiance to his own section of the country as well as faithful his attachment to his own State. "Save in defense of my State," he feelingly wrote in the Spring of 1861 to General Scott, in asking to be relieved of his command, "I never desire again to draw my sword." After resigning his commission in the Federal service, his own State having by this time prepared to withdraw from the Union and make the call upon her many brave sons to rally to her standard and espouse the Southern side in the pending struggle, Lee repaired to his Virginia home as a private citizen, while deprecating war and trusting that sectional strife would not break out, but that a peaceful solution would yet be formed of the grave problems that were then a menace to the nation. Unhappily, war, and not peace, was to be the issue of the distracting times, for already seven States, in accordance with convention ordinances, had taken themselves out of the Union, and at Montgomery, Alabama, had organized a separate government under the desig-

nation of the Confederate States of America. A little later on, the other sister States of the South joined the new Confederacy, whose capital was Richmond, Va. ; while its president, provisionally, became Jefferson Davis, formerly a member of the U. S. House of Representatives and national senator, who arrived at Richmond, May 29th (1861), and was duly installed in office. Meanwhile, Virginia had declared for Secession and joined the Confederacy, and Lee, having been nominated by the Governor of his own State as a delegate to the Virginia Convention, he now repaired to Richmond, where he was enthusiastically intrusted with the chief command of the Virginia forces and confirmed in the rank of major-general, which high office had been conferred upon him by the Governor of his State, under the authority of the Legislature.

In what estimation General Lee was held, even at this time in the South, may be seen from the reception accorded him by the Convention at Richmond, on the occasion of his presentation to the body to receive its president's address of welcome, be formally installed in the office of commander-in-chief of the military and naval force of the State, and accept his instructions to mobilize and put in the field an army for its defense and

protection. The appointment, we need hardly say, had come unsought by him, and was confirmed by the unanimous vote of the Convention, the fullest confidence of the body (handsomely vouched for by the president) being felt in his ability, integrity, and trusty honor, as well as in the high historic traditions of his family, by which General Lee, like his illustrious forebears, had always been influenced and guided, and had ever scrupulously respected with pardonable pride and becoming dignity. After a brief, modest reply in acknowledgment of the Convention's reposed trust in him and assignment of duty, the Commander-in-chief entered vigorously upon his task of organizing and equipping the State forces, which were subsequently merged with those of the Confederacy as a whole; while Lee became one of the able group of general officers of the regular army of the Confederate States, still retaining, however, his chief command of the army of Virginia.

When these momentous events were taking place in the South, with the formation of a Confederate Government, based on the claim of their leaders to State Rights, and in opposition to Northern sentiment adverse to the peculiar institutions of the South, menaced as it was thought by the success of the Republican party in the election of

Abraham Lincoln, the North at last awoke to a sense of the reality of the situation, quickened by the levying of war by the seceded States, the departure of their representatives and senators from Congress, and the seizure of the forts and Federal property in the border States. The call of President Lincoln for 75,000 militia had been issued, and the North roused itself to action, in virtue of the powers vested in the Executive head by the Constitution and laws of the nation. The response to the Northern summons of troops was immediate and gratifying ; and following it came the blockade of the ports of the seceding States, the rallying of forces to the defense of Washington, with preparations for the invasion of Virginia and the contemplated raid southward with the design of capturing and occupying Richmond, the seat of the " rebel " government.

But before proceeding with the narrative of events embraced in the era of the Civil War, in which General Lee, during the four protracted years of the great conflict, bore so conspicuous and brilliant a part, let us relate the early personal history of the intrepid soldier and valiant captain-general of the Southern army in the War of the Rebellion, and fill in the details of his remarkable career from his birth and up-bringing, with some

account of his family and the traditions of his historic ancestry and their genealogical belongings. In what remains of this chapter, let us first glance at the lineage and advent of our hero.

Robert Edward Lee belonged to the old Colonial family of the Lees of Virginia, which has given not a few distinguished statesmen and soldiers to the service of his country. The first of the family we learn of, Colonel Richard Lee, came to Virginia in Charles the First's era from the old home of the Lees in Stafford Langton, Essex, England, other branches of the family being resident of the counties of Bucks, Oxford, and Shrops. The home of the Lees in the latter shire was at Morton Regis, a representative of which family branch also emigrated to the New World in early Colonial times and settled in Westmoreland County, Virginia. Colonel Richard Lee, being a sturdy adherent of the reigning Stuarts and the scion of an influential English family, when he arrived in Virginia, naturally became a firm ally of Sir William Berkeley, governor of the colony, who warmly welcomed the newcomer as a member of the King's Privy Council and the monarch's nominee for the post of the Colonial State-secretaryship. Stanch royalist as he was, Lee, with Berkeley's assistance, kept the colony true in its allegiance

to the Stuart cause, so long at least as the unfortunate Charles I. lived ; and when Cromwell's Commonwealth was created he was instrumental in negotiating a treaty between it and the colony, recognizing the latter as an independent State, until the Restoration gave the lordship of the Virginia colony back to the Stuart House, Charles II. being persuaded to proclaim himself King of Virginia, as well as of France and the separate kingdoms of Britain. Colonel Richard Lee at length died and found a grave in Virginia, where he had settled with his family. One son, a namesake, survived him, and as a man of fine parts became a member of the Colonial council. He married an English lady, a Miss Corbin, by whom, besides a daughter, who subsequently married in Virginia, he had five sons, all of whom rose to be influential men in the Colony, and by their marriages allying themselves with many well-known Virginia families. Of these sons, two became notable in the later annals of the Lee family : these were Thomas and Henry, the fourth and fifth sons, respectively, of Richard Lee, who died about the year 1690. Of Henry Lee we shall write later on. The fourth son, Thomas, who resided at Stratford, Va., and there erected a magnificent manor-house long a marvel among

the colonial homes of the Old Dominion, allied himself with an influential family in the colony, the progeny including two daughters and six sons. The eldest of the latter, Philip Ludwell Lee, in turn married and had two daughters, the elder of whom, Matilda, became the wife of her second cousin, Colonel Henry Lee, known in history as "Light-Horse Harry," and the father (though by a second wife) of the subject of this memoir—General Robert E. Lee. The third son of Thomas Lee, Governor of Virginia, Richard Henry Lee (1732–1794), was the noted champion of American Independence, the patriot orator who, in the Continental Congress, in June, 1776, offered the now famous resolution that "these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be free and independent States." In making this free, bold speech the sturdy statesman of his day took unflinchingly the side of popular rights against the encroachment of the mother country, as he previously showed in opposing the Stamp Act, and in a brilliant, impressive speech now advocated the Declaration of Independence. It was by the same Congress, in July, 1775, that the historic "Address of the Twelve Colonies to the Inhabitants of Great Britain" was adopted and transmitted to the motherland. In the closing years

of the Revolutionary War, Richard Henry Lee took part against England in the field at the head of the militia of Westmoreland County, Va. ; from 1789 to 1792, he sat in the United States Senate, and though not a Federalist he warmly supported the Washington administration. As an orator, he was by his contemporaries called "the American Cicero" and was an impressive and distinguished public speaker. He was, moreover, "a man of amiable and noble character, of commanding presence, excellent abilities, and self-sacrificing patriotism." In these respects, his virtues were conspicuously reflected in his famous son.

We now turn back to trace the pedigree of Henry, fifth son of Richard Lee, the early and direct ancestor of General Robert E. Lee ; a distant relation of R. H. Lee, the Revolutionary statesman ; and the grandfather of the distinguished commander of "Lee's Legion," commonly known as "Light-Horse Harry." This Henry Lee married a Miss Bland, by whom he had several children, one of whom, Henry, took a Miss Grymes to wife, and by her had issue three daughters and five sons. Of the latter, the third son, a Henry also (1756-1818), became the famous soldier of the Revolution and the father of the

subject of the present Memoir. After graduating at Princeton, this distinguished member of the notable Lee family, as the present writer has elsewhere narrated, entered the Continental army, and at the battle of Germantown (Oct. 4, 1777) his cavalry troop was selected by General Washington as his personal body-guard. In January, 1778, when occupying a small stone house with a body of ten men, the remainder of his command being absent on a foraging expedition, the building was surrounded by 200 British cavalry, who attempted to take Lee prisoner, but were met with so spirited a resistance that they were compelled to retreat. Soon after this, Henry Lee was advanced to the rank of major, with the command of three companies of cavalry. While holding this rank he planned and executed the brilliant assault on the British post at Paulus Hook, their headquarters opposite the city of New York. Lee surprised and took the garrison under the eyes of the British army and navy, and safely conducted his prisoners within the American lines, many miles distant from the captured post. Than this there are few enterprises to be found on military record equal in hazard and difficulty, or are known to have been conducted with more boldness, skill, and daring activity. It was, moreover, accom-

plished without loss, while it filled the enemy's camp with confusion and astonishment, and shed an unfading luster on American arms. In 1780, Lee was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel commandant of a separate legionary corps, known as "Lee's Legion" of light horse, and was sent to the Southern Department of the United States, to join the army under General Greene, where he remained until the close of the war. Lee entered Congress in 1787, and was governor of Virginia between the years 1792 and 1795, during which he commanded the expedition against the Whiskey insurgents in Western Pennsylvania. He sat again in Congress at the period of Washington's death, in 1799, and, being appointed by that body to deliver an oration upon the character of the deceased first President, statesman, and warrior, Lee extolled him in the terms of the since-famous eulogy, "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

Henry Lee's virtues and character have been extolled by many writers, for he possessed many of those admirable qualities of head and heart which, as we shall see later on, were manifested by his eminent son. His children had a great veneration, as well as affection, for him, for he was an excellent and kind father, a most exem-

plary and, considering his time, a highly moral man, and an ideal type of a self-sacrificing, patriotic citizen. He was twice married, first to Matilda Lee (his second cousin), daughter of Philip Ludwell Lee of Stratford, Va., and when that lady died he was united to Anne, daughter of Charles H. Carter of Shirley, on the James River, a lady who proved a devoted wife and mother, and who exercised a beneficent influence upon her children. The latter were six in number, namely two daughters and four sons ; several of the sons, especially Robert Edward, and Sydney Smith Lee, afterwards attaining eminence and distinction, the one in the army, and the other in the navy of, the Southern Confederacy. The father, Henry Lee, died in 1818, aged 63, his life having been shortened by injuries received in suppressing a political riot in Baltimore in 1814, when the house in which he was at the time staying, that of a Federalist editor and journalist, was attacked by an angry mob. The next four years he spent in the West Indies in the search for health. A biography of him, by his distinguished son, General Robert E Lee, was prefixed to an edition of his " Memoirs of the (Revolutionary) War in the Southern Department of the United States." The work has an interest and

value even to-day, since it is an outspoken and impartial record of events, based on the personal experience and observation of a contemporary narrator—those of “Light-Horse Harry.”

CHAPTER II.

BIRTH, YOUTHHOOD, AND EARLY CAREER.

HAVING in our opening chapter introduced the subject of this Memoir and glanced at his ancestry and lineage, let us now record his birth and early upbringing, together with such facts as are known of his professional education as a military cadet and of the characteristics of the youth as he appeared at the threshold of his bright and promising career. The era of Robert E. Lee's birth, which occurred at the family home at Stratford, Westmoreland County, Virginia, January 19, 1807, was a troubled one, even for a neutral nation in the New World that had cut itself adrift from the Old, for at the period the two great world powers of Europe, France and Britain, were engaged in an armed and deadly struggle for political mastery and commercial dominance. At the same era, Denmark, Spain, Russia, and Prussia were for a period drawn into the vortex; while bombardment, invasion, and pillage were the national sport and burning dread of the time. At this grave juncture of international affairs, Napo-

leon was, or aimed to be, supreme on the European continent, while his chief adversary and checkmate were the British, who held undisputed sway on the high seas. Against each other, in the hotly-embraced interest of commerce, France fired at England her heavy-shafted bolt of the Berlin Decrees, which declared the British islands to be "in a state of blockade"; while her wary though inveterate enemy retorted with the British Orders in Council, closing to neutral commerce the ports of the continent and authorizing the seizure of any neutral vessel on a voyage to any of the prohibited French ports unless such vessel had first touched at a British port. France rejoined by authorizing, in the Milan Decree, the seizure of any vessel that had entered a British port. In this furious international strife, America soon became a sufferer, since the prohibitory decrees and hostile attitude of France and England struck a heavy blow at her carrying trade, and led to the enactment of Jefferson's Embargo Policy, forbidding the importation of goods from Britain and her colonies and banning intercourse. Another result of European ferment was to revive the partly slumbering animosities between America and the old motherland, the result of the irritating and humiliating right of search on board Ameri-

can vessels on the high seas and the arrest or impressment of sailors, naturalized citizens of the United States who had renounced their allegiance to Britain. The ill-feeling and strained relations of the two nations, once mother and child, soon bore fruit in the unhappy second War with England—that of 1812-14.

It was at this era that the child Robert E. Lee was born, an era of unhappy friction between the United States and the disowned mother country, rendered more so as the result of fruitless international diplomacy, irritating retaliatory legislation, and a clashing of commercial interests which brought about a period of non-intercourse, and, finally, a state of war. Within the country, nevertheless, it was an era of strenuous political, industrial, and social effort, in the building up, by its sturdy nation-makers, of the youthful American Republic. The war, costly as it was to the young nation and a heavy drain upon its yet slender financial resources, had its compensations, not only in withdrawing the Republic from the complications of Old World politics, but in imparting to it a larger measure of self-reliance and independence, with a feeling of increased pride in the successes, on land and lake, of her militia and marine service. It also quickened the spirit of

enterprise over the country, which followed the close of the struggle, and did much to cement the Union and implant in the heart of the nation love for its grand heritage and faith in its future mighty destiny.

Unfortunately for the still youthful scion of the Lee family, he early lost the fostering care of his father, who, when the boy was but six years old, had to betake himself to the West Indies in the endeavor to restore his shattered health. A father's interest in and love for the lad were more than compensated, however, by the devotion and attachment of his wise, tender mother, whose influence upon him was great, and to his lasting good. It was she who instilled in his youthful mind those high moral principles and that integrity and rectitude of conduct which in after-years were marked traits in the character of her eminent son. On the latter's part, there was a strong reciprocal attachment and fine filial feeling, which showed itself in a loving care and dutiful regard and solicitude. The need for this was the more urgent, as the self-sacrificing mother was at this period much alone, her husband being in the tropics, and her other sons were absent at College ; while of the two daughters one was as yet quite young and the other was in indifferent health.

Hence Robert was the one child to whom the noble mother looked for those attentions and that companionship which were a comfort to her, while she watched with earnest solicitude his careful home-training and strove to embue his mind with sound religious principles and inspire him with high ideals and lofty purposes in life.

Previous to this, or, more precisely, when Robert E. Lee was but four years old, the Lee family had removed from the old homestead at Stratford, in Westmoreland County (near the birthplace and early home of George Washington), and settled higher up the Potomac at Alexandria, six miles south of the Federal capital. The city at this period had, like the city of Washington itself, for a time fallen into the hands of the British ; and here, near by, at Arlington, young Lee had also associations with the home of President Washington, whose relative, the daughter of George Washington Parke Custis, he was afterwards to be allied with in marriage. At Alexandria Academy young Robert received his early education, afterwards passing to a more advanced institution kept by a Quaker, named Hallowell, who has left on record his high opinion of his pupil as a zealous student, most exemplary in his conduct and habits. Throughout his school career he gave the utmost

satisfaction to his several masters, while he was popular among his fellows, being manly in his bearing and attractive in his manners.

In the Spring of 1818, his father, General Henry Lee, when returning from the West Indies, had to be put ashore on the coast of Georgia as his death was imminent. He died at "Dungeness," the home of a daughter of his old friend, General Nathanael Greene, while his son Robert was but in his twelfth year. The death of "Light-Horse Harry," as he was familiarly called, was much and widely lamented, and at his funeral in Georgia military and naval honors were paid to his remains as they were interred beneath "the magnolias, cedars, and myrtles of beautiful Dungeness." As his son Robert grew up and the time came when he must make choice of a profession, naturally he sought to follow a military career, like his distinguished father, the General. His brother, Sydney Smith Lee, had taken to the navy, and was already beginning to carve out his own career in that profession (later on, he was known as Commodore Lee of the Confederate service and father of General Fitzhugh Lee, the famous cavalry commander). Ere long Robert succeeded in his application for admittance to the United States Military Academy, and

that famous training college for military cadets at West Point, he entered in 1825, and at once applied himself to a four years' course of drill and hard study, taking special interest in engineering science, with its accompanying lectures in strategy and tactics, varied by guard-mounting and cavalry exercises. Here his excellent character, scrupulous honor, and amenability to discipline, coupled with his studious habits and ambition to stand high in his class, won him the respect of his instructors and the esteem and love of his fellow-cadets, with the honor-post of adjutant of his corps. His whole course at West Point was that of a talented and ambitious youth who had high aims and an earnest purpose in life, and who sought to attain his objects by a preliminary career which should be marked by proficiency in his studies and an attention to them, as well as assiduity in the performance of his duties, which would win the commendation of those to whom he was indebted for efficient training and well-directed instruction and counsel. Throughout his four years' course, it is said, that he never had a demerit mark placed against his name; while he graduated second in a class of forty-six, and at once received a commission as second lieutenant in the corps of engineers.

With a highly creditable standing as a "West-Pointer," Robert E. Lee, after a brief furlough, entered actively on his professional career, finding employment for several years in duties, enthusiastically performed, in connection with the coast defenses of the United States at Hampton Roads and elsewhere. Society at that era, as well as now, was exceedingly attractive in the city of Washington and its vicinity ; and to the handsome young lieutenant of engineers it had its charms, for he was well fitted to shine among the élite of the capital, and that not alone for his good looks, but also by reason of his superior education and fine prospects in the army, not to speak of his high birth and the fair repute and heroic traditions of his family. With the young matrons and belles of the capital and its adjoining city of Alexandria, his own home, Lieutenant Lee was much made of ; while he was popular among his own sex, and especially among the knots of military men always to be found at the *salons* of Society people at Washington and at the manor-houses in the neighborhood. At Arlington, the home of the Custis family, the young engineer lieutenant was at the period particularly welcome, for he had long known and admired the beautiful daughter of the house, Mary Custis,

the granddaughter of Martha Washington ; and already more than a liking for each other had come about, which was soon now to bring both within Hymen's silken bonds. Only two years had passed since Lee had graduated at West Point and received his commission in the army ; but while only in his twenty-fifth year he fell into Cupid's snares and succumbed to the irresistible attractions of his affianced Mary Custis. Their marriage speedily followed, the ceremony taking place within the stately mansion of Arlington House, replete as it was with historic interest and attractive by its traditions of Washington and his fellow-patriots of Revolutionary days. Through his marriage, which was solemnized June 30, 1831, Lee with his wife subsequently became owners of Arlington, as well as of another property belonging to the Custis family on the Pamunkey River, where Washington, in 1759, married 'the widow Custis'—a property that was ruthlessly given to the flames by the Federal troops in the Civil War.

After a brief honeymoon, Lee returned to his army duties at Hampton Roads, but ere long was transferred to Washington, where he became assistant to the chief government engineer, and was consequently near to his bride and her pater-

nal home at Arlington. Promotion here came to him, first to a full lieutenancy and afterwards to a captaincy in the corps of engineers. After this, he acted for a time as astronomer to a commission appointed to define the boundary between the States of Ohio and Michigan ; and then was despatched to St. Louis to engage actively in professional work in connection with the channel of the Mississippi River, so as to obviate its overflowing its bounds on the side opposite St. Louis, as well as to recover waste lands on its borders which at periods had been subject to inundation. Indefatigable as well as professionally successful in his work, Lee rendered admirable service in improving the legitimate bed of the great river and in artificially confining "the Father of Waters" to its natural and desirable course. When this important task had been accomplished, he was despatched to New York to strengthen the defenses of Fort Hamilton, which protects the entrance to the spacious harbor of the city ; while recognition of his merits otherwise came to him in being elected a member of the Board of Visitors at West Point and appointed one of the Board of Engineers, at his professional *alma mater*.

CHAPTER III.

IN THE MEXICAN WAR.

AT this period of his career, when he was approaching his fortieth year, the War with Mexico broke out, precipitated by the independence of Texas, and its subsequent admission as a State of the Union. Besides the local attitude of Texas, matters between Mexico and the United States were complicated by the Washington administration insisting that the Southwestern boundary of Texas should be the Rio Grande. This was in the year 1846, when the War Department of the United States appointed General Winfield Scott to the supreme command of an expedition designed to operate in Mexican territory, and, if deemed expedient, invest and lay siege to Vera Cruz, thus opening the way for an advance upon the city of Mexico. Previous to this, General Zachary Taylor, with an American force, had appeared at Corpus Christi, Texas, and there, having increased his army, he was ordered to advance to the Rio Grande, which he did and

erected a fort on the river opposite Matamoros, with his base of supplies twenty-five miles eastward at Point Isabel. Here the Mexican general (Ampudia) ordered Taylor to withdraw beyond the Neuces river, as he and his American troops were then on Mexican territory. This Taylor refused to do, but proceeded with his operations in the region, when the battles of Palo Alta and Resaca de la Palma were fought and won ; while, later on, Monterey, after some resistance, capitulated. General S. W. Kearny, meanwhile, at the head of the Army of the West, had advanced from Fort Leavenworth and made conquest of the province of New Mexico, and at Santa Fé, in August, 1846, he established a provisional American government, subsequently proceeding to California. The latter country, by this time, had practically been annexed, partly by means of the exploring expedition of Colonel Frémont, and partly by the joint operations of Commodores Sloat and Stockton. In 1848, peaceful cession of the territory came about, aided by the influx of myriads of gold-seekers, known as the "forty-niners ;" and California, in 1850, was lost to Mexico and gained as a State of the American Union.

But let us now return to General Winfield

Scott and the chief command that had been given him to conduct an expedition to invade Mexico, by way of the Gulf, effecting a landing at or near Vera Cruz. This inroad directly upon the enemy, with the design of assaulting and capturing the chief Mexican towns, including the capital, was undertaken with the view of bringing Santa Anna's Administration and the Republic of the Mexican States to terms, after precipitating war upon American arms, as it was construed by President Polk's government, though history views the matter more in the light of an unjustifiable aggression upon a weak sister nation of the continent. Be this as it may or may not, General Scott had been given his orders, which were to proceed to Vera Cruz, where with his own forces and part of those under General Kearny he was to invest the town, take it, and proceed to the interior to reduce the Mexicans to submission. Here was now to become the real, as it was to be the chief, seat of war ; and for its successful exploitation General Scott had brought with him a strong contingent of engineers and artillery, in addition to his cavalry and foot-soldiers. The divisional commands of the invading army were intrusted, under the Commander-in-chief, to Generals Twiggs, Worth, and Quitman ; while several

able engineer officers directed the assaulting operations, among whom were Colonel Totten, Lieutenant Beauregard, and our hero, Captain Robert E. Lee, who had the honor of being placed on the Commander-in-chief's personal staff.

When General Scott had been assigned the task of taking a leading part in the war, and before the landing of his forces, by means of surf boats, a little to the south of Vera Cruz. Captain Lee appears to have been for a time attached to General J. E. Wool's command, which had penetrated Mexico from San Antonia, across the Rio Grande, as far as Saltillo, to the West of Tampico. This seems to have been the case, for we find him writing to his wife from Rio Grande early in October, 1846, and to two of his boys from Saltillo on the day before Christmas. Presumably, therefore, he was with Wool's; contingent at the battle of Buena Vista (Feb. 22, 1847) at the critical period in that hot but successful engagement with the Mexicans when Wool was joined by the force under General Zachary Taylor ("Old Rough and Ready" as the latter was familiarly called). Later on we know, however, he was summoned by General Scott to Vera Cruz, where he became one of the Commander in-chief's war council, and, as we have already related, a member of his per-

sonal staff. There, at Vera Cruz, he was joined for a time by his brother, Sydney, a lieutenant in the United States navy, then serving on the "Mississippi," one of the cruiser convoys of the invading force under Winfield Scott. We know also that this brother was with Captain R. E. Lee, for we find him serving one of the guns directed against the defenses of Vera Cruz from a battery his brother Robert had constructed to play upon the town preparatory to assaulting it. The period was about the 22nd of March, 1847, for on that day the bombardment commenced and continued for five days, when, after a spirited defense, the city and the fortified Castle of San Juan de Ulloa, in the harbor of Vera Cruz, capitulated. Lee rendered admirable service in the investment and assault upon the place, and was specially mentioned for distinguished acts in General Scott's despatches to Washington recounting the operations and successful issue of the siege.

At this period of American invasion, Mexico, both politically and socially, was in a distracted and unsettled condition. Before and after the era of her independence of Spain, which she secured in 1820, it had been given up, more or less, to chronic revolution. At present, the Creole general, Santa Anna, who had wrecked the military

empire of Iturbide, was the dictator of the amalgam of States which now represented the once mighty empire of Montezuma and what remained of the historic Spanish Conquest. The country was in a parlous state, with disorganization and conflict going on in almost every section of the Republic. It had, however, purged itself of the taint of slavery by decrees issued in 1827, and again and finally, in 1837. Against American invasion it was naturally opposed, believing that the United States had no righteous claim to the territory in Texas lying to the south of the Neuces, and therefore it resisted Zachary Taylor's taking possession of the region for the American Government southward to the Rio Grande. As we have seen, the Mexican troops under Arista were repeatedly defeated in opposing Taylor's aggression, and had also been worsted on her own unquestioned side of the Rio. The Mexicans had now fallen back successively, but still sought to maintain resistance to American arms. Of General Scott's campaign, so far as undertaken, we have also seen the result, in the surrender of Vera Cruz, with the capitulation of its defensive force and its seven thousand inhabitants. Now this forward movement was about to be launched, over some two hundred miles of difficult country,

to the Mexican capital. It was the middle of April (1847) before the expedition was in shape to proceed, and when it did, it met its first serious obstacle at Cerro Gordo, fifty miles northwest of Vera Cruz. Here Santa Anna and his Mexicans had posted themselves in a strong position on "the heights around a rugged mountain pass, with a battery commanding every turn of the road."

To the reconnoissance of Captain Lee and Lieutenant Beauregard, both of the Engineers corps, Winfield Scott was indebted for discovering a pathway, which a little engineering effort made practicable, for a flank attack upon the enemy. Over this route light batteries were hauled and placed in position for effective work ; while General Twiggs' division, led by Captain Lee, advanced and opened a fusilade which drove the outposts of the Mexicans from the ravine back upon the hill slopes of Cerro Gordo. This preliminary achievement was effected over night, and in the early morning of the 18th of April the batteries opened a destructive fire, and three columns of American troops gallantly advanced, while the fighting divisions of Generals Twiggs and Worth stormed the heights in front, and, in spite of a stout resistance, finally carried them, though at the cost of much bloodshed. Lee, per-

sonally leading a column of men, now stole off to turn the enemy's left, which he at length succeeded in doing, the Mexicans taking to flight down the Jalapa road, leaving behind them not only their dead, but much of their ammunition, small arms, and cannon. Our troops continued to press the enemy back, to Jalapa, making an ascent above the valley road during the day of over 4,000 feet, meanwhile capturing many of Santa Anna's men.

For Lee's share in the successes of the day, General Scott paid suitable and hearty acknowledgment, besides raising him to the brevet rank of major. His skill as an engineer enabled him to be of much and varied service to the Commander-in-chief during the progress of the campaign ; while he was also highly useful in experienced scouting work, in which his bravery and venturesomeness at times led him into no little personal peril. This was the case shortly after the victory at Cerro Gordo, when on a reconnoissance in advance of the army he escaped Mexican vigilance only by concealing himself all one afternoon under a fallen tree, until nightfall enabled him to issue from his hiding-place and regain the outposts of the invading force. A like heroism and disregard of himself characterized Major

Lee at both Churubusco and Contreras, where, for his distinguished services he received a further step in the line of promotion, this time to the brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel. Almost constantly in the saddle, he was not only actively occupied in his own important duties as an engineer officer and counsellor to his Commander-in-chief in the difficulties that lay in the path of the advance, but he was also of much service, when a battle was on, in carrying General Scott's orders to sections of his command, even at much peril to himself. In the interesting Memoir of Lee by his nephew, Fitzhugh Lee, the renowned cavalry commander, Major Lee's distinguished services in this Mexican campaign are thus attested : "His deeds of personal daring, his scientific counsels, his *coup d'œil* of the battle-field, his close personal reconnoissances under the scorching rays of a tropical sun, amid the lightning's flash or thunder's roar, did much to fashion the key which unlocked the gates of the Golden City. The reports of his commander are filled with commendations of his bravery : 'That he was as famous for felicitous execution as for science and daring' ; that at 'Chapultepec Captain Lee was constantly conspicuous, bearing important orders' from him, 'till he fainted from a

wound and the loss of two nights' sleep at the batteries.' This veteran general," Fitzhugh Lee adds, "in referring afterward to this campaign, was heard to say that his 'success in Mexico was largely due to the skill, valor, and undaunted courage of Robert E. Lee,' and that he was 'the greatest military genius in America, the best soldier that he ever saw in the field, and that, if opportunity offered, he would show himself the foremost captain of his time.'"

We are, however, anticipating, for there is considerable yet to be told of the incidents of the campaign ere the Mexican capital was taken and the unhappy war brought to a close. When the Mexicans fell back on Jalapa, Scott's command followed the enemy up, drove them out of the place, and pushed on and occupied Puebla. Here a halt of two months took place, to enable the American force, exhausted by the rapid advance during the hottest months of the year, to pull itself together, await reinforcements from the coast, drill and make them efficient when they arrived. On August 7th, the forward movement again began, and by the 19th and 20th of the month three stubbornly fought battles took place, parts of one general encounter with the enemy, namely those of Contreras, Churubusco, and San

Antonio. The issue of each engagement was the same—the rout of the Mexicans, and their rearward flight even to the gates of the capital. At this juncture, an armistice was mutually agreed upon, to permit the negotiations of the American commissioner, Nicholas P. Trist, who was instructed to offer the Mexicans peace upon certain conditions before further blood was shed in the alternative assault upon the City of Mexico. The armistice, however, came to nought, and tactically was a maladroit proposal : it lasted from August 23rd to September 7th. On the latter day the fighting was resumed, Molino del Rey being then attacked and carried by assault, while Santa Anna and his troops fled from the place. By the 12th of the month, the struggle was renewed by the American batteries opening fire upon the stronghold of Chapultepec, and by an assault upon the place by Scott's combined force, which met with a desperate and bloody resistance. Finally, the place was stormed by a plucky dash, when the Mexicans became panic-stricken, abandoned their defensive works, and fled in confusion.

It was here, at Chapultepec, that Lee was wounded, though fortunately not very seriously. In the campaign, other of his Southern brother-

officers suffered also from casualties in the field among them being Joseph E. Johnston (later on the renowned Confederate commander), Longstreet, Magruder, General Shields, Captain Mason, and others. The Mexican war, indeed, was an excellent active training-school to numbers of men who, in the War of the Rebellion, were to become distinguished under both the Federal and the Confederate flag. Of these, besides Robert E. Lee, the following were among the Mexican campaigners : Ulysses S. Grant, Albert Sidney Johnston, Joseph Hooker, Braxton Bragg, Jubal Early, George Gordon Meade, George B. McClellan, Irvin McDowell, George H. Thomas, Gideon J. Pillow, Ambrose P. Hill, T. J. ("Stonewall") Jackson. "Their swords, then drawn for victory against a common foe," as Fitzhugh Lee admirably puts it, were, fourteen years later, "to be pointed against each other's breast, and those who slept beneath the same blanket, drank from the same canteen, and formed those ties of steel which are strongest when pledged amid common dangers around a common mess-table, were to be marshalled under the banners of opposing armies.

What the common dangers in the Mexican war then were, Lee himself relates with pathos

and fine humane feeling, in letters sent at this time to his home, either to his loved wife or to their little sons, in safe-keeping at Arlington. In these we see something of the man's tender, yet stout, courageous heart, when thoughts of the dear ones he has left behind him come recurringly to his mind. Of these epistles his relative biographer gives us some touching excerpts from a letter written to his young son, Custis Lee, after the battle of Cerro Gordo : "I thought of you," writes the father, "on the 18th, in the battle, and wondered, when the musket-balls and grape-shot were whistling over my head in a perfect shower, where I could put you, if with me, to be safe. I was truly thankful that you were at school, I hope learning to be good and wise. You have no idea what a horrible sight a battle-field is." The writer then describes to him the battle of Cerro Gordo, and tells him about the dead and dying Mexicans ; how he had them carried to a house by the roadside, where they were attended by Mexican surgeons ; of his finding by the side of a hut a little Mexican boy who had been a bugler or a drummer, with his arm terribly shattered, and how a big Mexican soldier, in the last agonies of death, had fallen on him ; how he was attracted to the scene by the

grief of a little girl ; how he had the dying Mexican taken off the boy, and how grateful the little girl was. "Her large black eyes," he said, "were streaming with tears, her hands crossed over her breast ; her hair in one long plait behind reached her waist, her shoulders and arms bare, and without stockings or shoes. Her plaintive tone of '*Mille gracias, Signor,*' as I had the dying man lifted off the boy and both carried to the hospital, still lingers in my ear. After I had broken away through the chaparral and turned toward Cerro Gordo I mounted Creole, who stepped over the dead men with such care as if she feared to hurt them ; but when I started with the dragoons in the pursuit, she was as fierce as possible, and I could hardly hold her."

Nor was Robert E. Lee less courageous than tender and humane, as we learn from General Winfield Scott's own account in his despatches to Washington, or in after-reminiscences of the war by some of his contemporary staff officers in the campaign. One of the latter recounts Lee's daring in an action preceding the battle of Contreras, "when General Scott's troops had become separated on the field of Pedrigal, and it was necessary to communicate instructions to those on the other side of the barrier of rocks and lava." At

this crisis, General Scott, as set forth in his report, states that he had sent seven officers after sundown to give them their instructions, but all returned without getting through, save the gallant and indefatigable Captain Lee of the Engineers, who has been constantly with the operating forces. . . Subsequently Scott (to quote again from his biographer), while giving testimony before a court of inquiry said : "Captain Lee came to me from Contreras with a message from Brigadier-General Smith. I think about the same time (midnight) he, having passed over the difficult ground by daylight, found it just possible to return on foot and alone to St. Augustine in the dark, the greatest feat of physical and moral courage performed by any individual to my knowledge during the campaign."

The successful close of the war was hailed by all with feelings of relief : this was especially the case with Colonel Lee, and indeed with the entire command under General Scott and his divisional commanders. After the brilliant assault on Chapultepec and the overpowering of the enemy at the gates of the capital, the City of Mexico was entered and taken possession of. Before its official surrender, Santa Anna and the chief civic authorities had fled from the place ; but representa-

tives of the Republic were there, with whom the American Commissioner arranged the terms upon which the war was to close and the country be relieved of its conquering invaders. After some haggling, peace was finally declared, and the American troops, in due course, withdrew, the military power of Mexico having in the war been broken as well as humiliated. By the Peace Treaty, which was negotiated at Guadalupe Hidalgo, Feb. 2, 1848, subsequently ratified by both sides, the United States secured the rights contended for to the southwestern territory of Texas as far as the Rio Grande. The Treaty, moreover, added New Mexico and California to the national domain ; though a monetary compensation therefor was to be paid to Mexico, of fifteen million dollars, while the United States assumed the claims of her citizens against the Republic, who had suffered in the war, to the extent of three and a half millions more.

It was toward the end of May (1848) before Colonel Lee was free to leave the City of Mexico to return homeward, though a month later he was rejoiced once more to be at Arlington and in the bosom of his family. Public recognition of his services in Mexico came later, in 1852, when, after the resumption of his professional work on the Gov-

ernment defenses at Baltimore, he was appointed superintendent of the U. S. Military Academy at West Point. General Winfield Scott, the Commander-in-Chief, an attached and admiring friend of Lee, was, on the other hand, somewhat scurvily treated by the War Department. Owing to some difficulty with a subordinate general officer in Mexico, he had to submit to the annoyance of a General Court of Inquiry. Congress, meanwhile, applied a solatium to the wounded feelings of the old veteran by awarding him a gold medal and the thanks of the Legislature. Later, the authorities made amends to the old warrior by raising him to the rank of Lieutenant-General, the first creation of that high titular office in the United States army. General Zachary Taylor, the hero of Buena Vista and of a long list of earlier triumphs, fared better, having on his return from the Valley of the Rio Grande received the thanks of Congress, accompanied by a gold medal ; while his popularity in the nation gained him the nomination, on the Whig ticket, of the Presidency. His inauguration to that elevated office took place Mar. 4, 1849, though his death unhappily occurred July 9th in the following year.

CHAPTER IV.

THE INTERVAL BETWEEN THE MEXICAN WAR AND THE WAR FOR THE UNION.

COLONEL LEE, in 1852, entered actively on his duties as head of the U. S. Military Academy at West Point, from which he had himself so creditably graduated in 1829. At this period, his eldest son, G. W. Custis Lee, was a pupil of the institution, and, like his father before him, stood high in his class and graduated two years later as cadet-adjutant, also following the paternal bent, of choosing to serve in the Engineers. Colonel Lee's administration of the Academy lasted for three years, and, like everything he did, it was characterized by efficiency and ability. He had ever a high sense of duty, and was assiduous in inculcating it not only in his sons, but in all who were at any time subordinate to him. On his retirement from the superintendency of the Academy, Lee was assigned to the Cavalry branch of the U. S. military service, two new Cavalry regiments having just then been raised for duty in the

West, to give increased military protection in that section, where settlement was fast making inroads, and where, in Kansas and Texas especially, there was at the time considerable menace from marauding bands of Indians under the Comanche chief Catumseh. Though hitherto an Engineer officer of eminence, he took kindly to the Cavalry service ; nevertheless, he withdrew from his own particular branch of the profession of arms, in which he had greatly distinguished himself, with regret. Moreover, he was fond of horses and much accustomed to be in the saddle ; while many from his own State and section of the country were entering the Cavalry service, afterwards to gain distinction in it as Confederate commanders. One of these was Albert Sidney Johnston, who was given the colonelcy of the second Cavalry corps, while Colonel Lee was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel. The destination of the corps was Western Texas ; and thither the regiment went, after Colonel Johnston had established his headquarters at Louisville, Ky., where Lt.-Col. Lee joined it, proceeding later to Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, thence to active duty in Texas.

Before reaching Texas, Lt.-Col. Lee was detailed for service on a court-martial in Kansas, the occasion being the trial of an assistant army

surgeon who had left his station during the prevalence of an alarming epidemic. On rejoining the regiment in Texas, the latter became broken into detachments, ordered for duty over a far-reaching area. This was rendered necessary by the wide stretch of frontier the regiment had then to guard, there being as yet few towns and no railways in the Territory. Parts of it were scattered over the region from the Rio Grande far to the north-westward, Lee himself doing duty at one time at Ringgold Barracks, at another at Camp Cooper, on one of the forks of the Brazos River, and at still another at Fort Brown. His life at this time could not have been much to his liking, for the region was still in the rough, and regimental officers of Lee's standing and eminence, cut off to a large extent as they were from the comforts and elegancies they had at home been accustomed to, could find little to compensate, and less to interest, them in a country yet in the wild state ; where the United States mails had to be transported from post to post by armed soldiers on mules, often over long strips of dreary, uninhabited country. Nor was there any active duty worthy of their prowess. All there was consisted, for the most part, of scouting duty, performed amid much discomfort and frequent sickness, when

the stations were unhealthy, and occasionally in no little peril from the poisoned arrows of treacherous Indians shot at them from ambush.

The life was now and then varied by visits to dirty Indian camps, for a parley with their chiefs, who it was often found, however, were fine specimens of nature's children and magnificent horsemen, their nomadic life making them "active, vigilant, and a foe not to be despised."

While Lee was in the West, he naturally maintained a regular and affectionate correspondence with his family at Arlington, and longed often to be back to them and to civilization. At this period, the autumn of 1857, the death of his father-in-law, Mr. Custis, recalled him for a time to his home. The latter's wife had predeceased him ; and now with his own death the Arlington House estate came into the possession of Colonel Lee's wife, Mary Custis Lee, together with the Arlington heirlooms and family plate. Unfortunately, the fine historic property was ere long now to be lost to the Lees, in the calamitous outbreak of the civil war, while the family slaves were given their freedom by the good-will and humanity of their fond master and mistress. That the sectional struggle, now about to ensue, was foreseen by Lee and by all thoughtful observ-

ers need hardly be said. Though Lee personally took no part in politics, he could not be, nor was he, ignorant of the sectional strife by which it was preceded ; still less was he indifferent to the outbreak of the calamity, dreadful as it was sure to be to the antagonists on either side.

Already the Federal tie which had bound the States in one family since the Revolution was loosening, owing to the growing abolition sentiment in the North, which, on conscientious moral grounds, as well as from the fact that she was an industrial and commercial community, was opposed to slavery in the South (an agricultural and cotton-growing section) and to its extension in the new states and territories of the Union. The anti-slavery sentiment was resented by the South as an intolerable interference with its natural, though peculiar, institution, which not only had imposed restrictions on its extension in the new and fast-settling regions of the country, but sought to proscribe and eliminate it in the South. This resistance speedily showed itself in the new theories which had now become prevalent in the Southern half of the Union as to state-sovereignty and the so-called state-rights in the cotton-growing section and along the border States. The first practical step taken towards secession was

manifested by South Carolina, which was the earliest to take action among the irreconcilable sisterhood in the South. This step she took Dec. 20th, 1860, then declaring the Union dissolved, as far as she was concerned, and setting forth the reasons for her course with regard to repeal and the erection of an independent State government. The chief reason assigned was the threatened Federal interference with slavery, following upon Mr. Lincoln's election to the Presidency of the United States. A like attitude was taken by other of her sister States, which ere long (before the inauguration of Lincoln, March 4th, 1861) joined her in revolt: these were Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and Texas. These States not only seceded from the Union, but seized the military posts and national property within their several State jurisdictions. The motive of secession was the same in all, namely, unmistakable jealousy of their favored institution of slavery, and the desire to perpetuate it within the area of the seceding States. The principle which governed their joint action was that embodied in the constitutional theories held and propounded by Calhoun, viz., that each State was in its own right sovereign and an independent entity, an interpretation of the Constitution

radically at variance with the views held by the people and their leading statesmen in the North, who maintained that the United States was a nation, one and indivisible, and by their moral sense opposed, at least, to the extension of slavery, and dedicated, in so far as practicable, to free labor. This was the opinion held and expressed by Mr. Lincoln in his first Inaugural, but more decidedly affirmed in his message to Congress of July 4, 1861, where he insisted that the individual States had no other legal status in the national commonwealth than that of the Union, and that none of them had a Constitution independent of the Union ; and hence, if it is broken, or if any of them dissevered themselves from it, they did so against law and only by revolutionary process. In justice, it must be said, that not all the abolitionists of the North viewed Secession in this extreme and disputed light. Many, on the contrary, deemed the view of a centralized government as a national compact between all the States not to be broken or dissevered as an autocratic and aggressive one, fraught with peril to the stability and perpetuation of the Union. Among those who took the more cautious and reasonable side in the distracting controversies of the time were men like Daniel Webster, who, with Clay and Calhoun

of the South, protested against the aggressions and heedlessness of abolitionism ; while men, like Horace Greeley and Henry Ward Beecher, were opposed to coercion and took action with the Border States as peacemakers, by desiring that the South, if she wished it, should withdraw in peace. As to the legal right of any State under the Constitution to secede, there were others again who took one or the other side of the controversy, and by their contentions added to the ferment and disquiet of the time. On this fiercely-debated question not a few of the best minds of the era were at issue with each other ; while there were those who, without rashly committing themselves to either side, took the ground, like Secretary Seward, that there was a "Higher Law," above the Constitution, whose moral dictates were worthy of being imperatively heard, and which, as in Mr. Seward's case, condemned slavery out and out, and incited the North to ban it by force from the nation.

As we calmly look back now on the distracting period, with the knowledge we historically have of the issues of the contest—the result largely of the rabid and inflammatory appeals addressed to the North by the abolitionists—we can see that there was much reason for a more sane and restrained judgment, and for less of the extravagant and

melodramatic censure of negro slavery and the fugitive slave law, to which the period was recklessly treated in public speeches and in partisan appeals through the medium of fiction such as that of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Even emancipation, had it been brought about slowly and dispassionately, was a most difficult problem, especially in the absence in the negro of adequate preliminary training for freedom, and of due precautionary measures for the self-interest and safety alike of slave and of master. Slavery might be a curse and a blight to the South—and doubtless it was, as it has been, wherever it has existed—but the fact that it was this hardly justified intemperate and vituperative denunciation of those who treated the slave well, as it was the economic interest of the master, as well as creditable to his humanity, to do ; while it led, as it did, to the most untoward event in the annals of the nation—disunion and its frightful consequences to both sides in the prolonged and calamitous Civil War.

But it is time to return to Colonel Lee and the theme proper of our biography. In the distracting controversies of the period we have been dealing with, he, as we have already indicated, took no personal, and still less a public, part. The

shadows of the time were however about him, as they were about all patriots and true lovers of their country. On the subject of slavery and slave-emancipation, he, moreover, held pronounced, though moderately expressed, opinions. His letters of the era indicate that, and not only those written to members of his own family, but those forwarded to his close personal friends. In these we see that the controversies of the time were much in his thoughts, though he relied, as a Christian man was bound to do, on a benign Providence to overrule human affairs for the best, and that in God's own good time. The evils, political and moral, of slavery he explicitly admits, though he deemed them evils no less to the white race than to the black. Towards the blacks, he tells us, his feelings are strongly enlisted, though he considered them immeasurably better off in this country than in Africa, and that not only as far as their physical condition went, but morally and socially as well. The discipline they are undergoing here, even where it is painful, he deemed necessary for their further instruction as a race, while he hoped it would prepare them for better things. Their emancipation, he, however, affirmed, would sooner result from the mild and melting influences of Christianity, than from the

storms and tempests of fiery controversy. "While we see the course of the *final* abolition of human slavery is still onward, and give it the aid of our prayers, and all justifiable means in our power, we must," he adds, "leave the progress as well as the result in His hands who sees the end, who chooses to work by slow influences, and with whom a thousand years are but as a single day." At the same time, he termed Secession nothing but revolution, and dreaded no greater calamity for the country than a dissolution of the Union. "The framers of our Constitution," he writes, in January, 1861, in a letter to his son, "never exhausted so much labor, wisdom, and forbearance in its formation, and surrounded it with so many guards and securities, if it was intended to be broken by every member of the Confederacy at will. . . . Still," he is careful to add, "a Union that can only be maintained by swords and bayonets, and in which strife and civil war are to take the place of brotherly love and kindness, has no charm for me. I shall mourn for my country and for the welfare and progress of mankind. If the Union is dissolved, and the government disrupted," he concludes, "I shall return to my native State and share the miseries of my people, and, save in defense, will draw my

sword on none." Elsewhere he patriotically declared, that "if he owned all the negroes in the South he would gladly yield them up for the preservation of the Union." These are brave and inspiring words to come from one who was soon now to be termed by the North "rebel" and chief among rebels; but whose whole past testified to the fidelity of a loyal and true gentleman, alike to the Union and to the Constitution, as they were founded and established by the Fathers.

Meanwhile matters political were fast approaching a crisis in the country, for the John Brown raid upon Harper's Ferry had taken place, and a wild scheme was formed by this hero-fanatic and his nineteen followers to free the slaves of the South, though it bore on its face the design, if not the intent, of inciting a servile war. When it occurred and the U. S. arsenal had been seized by Brown and his meager band, Lee was on furlough at Arlington to settle his deceased father-in-law's affairs. Being on the spot, the Secretary of War summoned him to proceed to Harper's Ferry with some marines and four companies of soldiers from Fort Monroe to quell the trouble; which Lee promptly did, Brown and a portion of his fanatical following being captured in a hiding-place in which they had

sought refuge and were turned over to the civil authorities. John Brown, as all know, was subsequently tried on a charge of treason and conspiracy, found guilty, sentenced, and executed ; while Colonel Lee returned to Washington, and from Arlington he once more proceeded to his command in Texas. Here, in garrison at San Antonio, Lee spent his last year of service under the United States flag, for on February 13, 1861, when Texas had withdrawn from the Union, he delivered over his authority at Fort Mason and repaired to the national capital, at the summons of the Secretary of War.

On his return to Washington, Lee was confronted with an embarrassing and painful situation. Not only had seven of the States of the South passed ordinances of secession and seized United States forts within their State jurisdictions, but his own loved commonwealth of Virginia was on the brink of withdrawing from the Union. This action was followed ere long by other States, while the Southern Confederacy was formally inaugurated—if we may not say legalized—by the installation of Jefferson Davis as its president. As president of the Union Government, Abraham Lincoln was installed in office, and presently made his call for 75,000

troops to suppress insurrectionary violence and oppose the secession of the slave-holding States. The period was obviously one of intense excitement, for coercion on the part of the United States government over the disaffected States that had arrayed themselves against Federal authority and taken themselves out of the Union, was an unusual, as it was an extreme, course, and naturally affected the attitude of most of the Southern officers who were then serving in the Union army. To Colonel Lee, the struggle between his sense of duty and attachment to his native State, in conflict with loyalty in his own breast to the country he had so long and faithfully served, was a distressing and painful one. Especially was it this when he realized what coercion meant, and that coercion would be the penalty to be paid by his own State of Virginia when, as presently happened, she joined the sisterhood of States embraced in the Southern Confederacy. Against his own State he could not, of course, draw his sword, still less could he stand idly by when she was menaced and attacked by the Federal power as a commonwealth in revolt from Union authority. In his mind there was nothing of sectional enmity or hatred, only love for his native State, and sorrow over

the dire conditions that had arisen to compel her to withdraw from the North and join her forces with those of the Confederacy.

Into the vortex of war the two sections of the Republic soon now drifted, and with Lincoln's call for troops and the War Department's preparations to invade the South, Colonel Lee's mental struggle as to what he should do came to an end. His devotion to the Union had hitherto delayed his action and made infirm his will; while it brought him overtures from the authorities to take command of the proposed army of invasion, which, of course, was repugnant to him, and, in declining, he at the same time handed in his resignation as an officer of the United States army. His period of sore trial was, happily, now soon over, though it cost him much to quit the service with which he had been so long and honorably connected and separate himself from his old comrades in the Union army and his friends and associates in the North. To General Winfield Scott, who loved him as a son and pleaded with him against resigning, he wrote a kindly letter of regret at parting with him, while acknowledging his appreciation of a long and cordial friendship. His resignation was accepted April 20th (1861), and three days later the Legis-

lature of Virginia authorized the Governor of the State to offer Lee command of the military forces of the State, with the rank of Major-General. This changed the course of his career, and for the future identified himself with the cause of the South, in which he played so conspicuous and strenuous a part, shedding glory upon its arms, despite the final issue of the long and bloody conflict. Taking leave once more of Arlington and its loved inmates, Lee repaired to Richmond, Va., and to his new duties as commander-in-chief of the army of Virginia.

CHAPTER V.

THE OPPOSING FORCES PREPARING FOR CONFLICT.

THE two sections of the riven Union, when Major-General Lee betook himself to Richmond, were speedily now to come together in the clash of arms. Already, the weakly-garrisoned and badly-provisioned Federal Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbor, had been the object of Southern attack and occupation by a Confederate force under General Beauregard. Major Anderson and his slender Northern command evacuated the Fort on April 14th (1861) with the honors of war, the Confederates permitting its temporary defenders to board the Federal Steamship *Baltic*, lying on the bar, and convey them to New York. Contemporary with the fall of Fort Sumter, sympathy with Secession showed itself in rioting in Baltimore, a street mob there, being exasperated over the passing through the city of a body of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania troops bound for Washington, assailed them with stones and other missiles. The troops, resenting the insult paid

them, fired upon the mob, and several deaths and many serious casualties occurred on both sides. When Federal authority was re-established in Baltimore, the Secession fever subsided, and the city and the State of Maryland were preserved to the Union ; though both became for a time the seats of disaffection and the hiding-place of not a little covert treason. Nor, at the outset of the war, was the seriousness of the situation less grave to the North when the South made haste to possess itself, garrison, and occupy Federal forts, arsenals, and even navy-yards, at outlying points of the coast, or within reach of the seceded States. Among these posts early pounced upon by the Confederate forces were Harper's Ferry, with its arsenal, and the Gosport Navy Yard, adjoining Norfolk, which, though set on fire and abandoned by its Northern garrison, was seized by the Virginians, its flames subdued, and many of its valuable military stores, with several pieces of serviceable artillery, were recovered for use by the South. Alike grave was the aspect of things revealed in the unpreparedness of the North to meet the emergency of the time, and its inability for some months to confront the enemy in the field with any force more adequate than raw, untrained militia. This accounts for the successive defeats

to the North early in the war, such as those at Big Bethel, near Yorktown, and at Rich Mountain and Laurel Ridge, in the valley of Virginia, followed by the more important victory for the South at Bull Run, with its humiliating and disastrous rout of the Northern troops backward upon Washington.

Still darker for the North was the prospect when, besides the secession of the seven Southern States, came the breaking away from the Union of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas, together with the subsequent recognition by Great Britain and France of the Confederate Government and their according it belligerent rights, following upon the Northern proclamation of a blockade of the Southern ports. In these fateful times, the North, though slow to realize the rift within the Union lute, and hardly dreaming that the Southerners were serious in their estrangement from their Northern brethren, was meanwhile full of unrequisitioned resource, alike in men and in money ; while her people, when they awoke from their lethargy, were ardently bent on, as well as patriotically zealous for, the prosecution of the war. The firing upon and capture of Fort Sumter, however incredibly the report of its occurring was at first received, aroused and made indignant the

North ; while it brought her people to face the reality and braced them to the point of armed coercion. Here and there, dissent from the latter was heard, and doubt cast upon the prospect of an "irrepressible conflict." In these quarters, hope of reconciliation was still clung to, and much was made of the sentimentally viewed spectacle of "brother shedding brother's blood." The day of peace, however, had gone by, and hope of arresting civil war before it had passed the appeals of argument and the bounds of reason was now seen to be futile. In the South, on the other hand, there was more inflexibility as well as unity ; while, at first, its government was better prepared for a conflict, and it knew, moreover, that the North was not. Subjugation by the North was, as yet, hardly dreamed of ; while Southern invasion of the North and the capture of Washington were widely entertained ideas as well as hopefully deemed projects. Had Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri joined the Confederacy, as at one time seemed probable, the scenes of the coming conflict would more likely have been the North rather than the South, and possibly with another than the after historical result. Aside from this, and from the constitutional argument involved in the question of the right of Secession, the North had

the advantage of possessing a moral motive, with the prestige it naturally gave it, in the conflict; while the South fatally handicapped itself by fighting, in the main, for the preservation of its favored institution. The doctrine of human chattelhood, to an enlightened and religious world, was the South's moral condemnation, and as fanatical was its adherence to and preaching of this as were fanatical the extreme views and the hysterical incitement to aggression on the part of Northern abolitionists. The better minds of the South obviously saw and admitted this, though they could ill brook the sectional intolerance of the North, and so took the stand they did, further influenced by the local claims of the region and the ties of family connection and tradition in the South. With them, Disunion was not so much their motive—indeed, by many it was distinctly disavowed—as the believed right they had of separation, coupled, as in the case of Major-General Lee, with an ardent affection for their native State, loyalty to its interests, and the claim each section had to its sons' allegiance and succor when in jeopardy, or when it had become the object of menace and aggression by the government of what was deemed "a sectional and minority President."

To the North, it was unfortunate that the crisis that had come upon the country had found it unprepared for the pending conflict, and that, when it was launched, it was at once paralyzed as well as dismayed at the immediate result. The effect of this on the South was naturally encouraging, while the Confederates were more united and in greater earnest, and possessed, moreover, the abler army leaders, in such experienced generals and clever tacticians as Lee, Johnston, Longstreet, and Stonewall Jackson. It was, on the other hand, at a disadvantage in having little of a navy, and was consequently unable to cope with the sea-power resources of the North in blockading and investing Southern ports, with the fine fighting qualities and admirable seamanship manifested by men like Farragut, Foote, and Porter. In command of the sinews of war, the South was also at a disadvantage compared with the North, though the drain even upon the latter became, as we know, unprecedentedly great and most embarrassing to its financial backers at home and abroad, as well as to the distracted Administration at Washington. This was especially the case in the later stages in the war, when the national currency had greatly depreciated, and when the North was staggering under its

burdensome load of taxation, with a national debt which had risen from about \$80,000,000 in 1860 to over \$2,800,000,000 in the autumn of 1865. In this respect, the South had its own perplexities and troubles, in spite of heavy levies in the way of taxation, its risky, surreptitious sales of cotton and the greatly-needed provisions it obtained for this, when it succeeded in passing the vigilant blockade and paying loot to the army of private speculators. With all in its favor, or could procure by hook or by crook, the Southern army was often in sore straits for daily rations, having often to rely almost solely on corn meal ; while it was usually sadly deficient in tents for shelter, as well as in shoes, clothing, and blankets. The facilities for caring for the sick and wounded were also often lamentably indifferent ; while the privations endured by even the strong and the well on the march, or when being transported in close box-cars from place to place, were at times too harrowing for words.

The curtain of war was now, however, rung up, and from the general aspects of the struggle as it affected both combatants we pass to describe, in some reasonable detail, the chief incidents in the eventful drama. The Federal Administration we have seen, had received Lincoln as its presiding

head, and he was judicious in the selection of a Cabinet, which was composed, as a whole, of experienced as well as able Northern statesmen. The Vice-President was Hannibal Hamlin, who, in 1864, when Lincoln was elected for another term of office, was replaced by Andrew Johnson in the subordinate post, and who became his successor. The more prominent of Mr. Lincoln's advisers were Seward, Chase, and Cameron, all of whom had been influential in the political circles of the capital. To these were entrusted the secretarieships, respectively, of the State Department, the Treasury, and the War Office. Secretary Seward remained during the war at the head of the State Department, though Chase, in 1864, when he was created chief-justice of the Supreme Court, gave place at the head of the Treasury to Fessenden, and later on to MacCulloch ; while Cameron, in 1862, gave way to E. M. Stanton in the control of the War Department. To Gideon Wells fell the post of Secretary of the Navy ; Montgomery Blair became Postmaster-General ; Caleb B. Smith, Secretary of the Interior ; and Edward Bates was appointed Attorney-General.

The representative department heads of the Southern cause, who had been officially installed at Montgomery, Ala., under Jefferson Davis (of

Miss.) as President of the Confederate Government, with A. H. Stephens (of Ga.) as Vice-President, were : Robert Toombs (of Ga.), Secretary of State; C. G. Memminger (of S. C.), Secretary of the Treasury; and L. P. Walker (of Ala.), Secretary of War. To these were later appointed S. R. Mallory (of Fla.), Secretary of the Navy; and J. H. Reagan (of Texas), Postmaster-General. The chief change in the above posts was that which gave to Judah Philip Benjamin, in 1861, the Secretaryship of War, and from February 1862, to the collapse of the Confederacy, the Secretaryship of State. Later on, the headquarters of the Confederate Government was transferred from Montgomery, Ala., to Richmond, Va., and thither, after his withdrawal from the military service of the Union, did Major-General Lee, as we have related, proceed. Here the distinguished son of Virginia met with a hearty, vociferous welcome, and that alike from the Richmond populace and from the Virginia convention, then in session, and before which, on his coming to the capital, he had been invited to appear. Governor Letcher had already nominated him to the chief command of the military forces of the State, with the rank of major-general, and as such the convention, together with

a large and interested audience, warmly greeted him. To the assembled body, Lee was formally presented in an elaborate and eulogistic address, the major-general being introduced as the State's trusted commander-in-chief. To the address and greeting, the recipient of the honor made the following brief, but characteristically modest, reply : "Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention :—Profoundly impressed with the solemnity of the occasion, for which I must say I was not prepared, I accept the position assigned me by your partiality. I would have much preferred had your choice fallen upon an abler man. Trusting in Almighty God, an approving conscience, and the aid of my fellow-citizens, I devote myself to the service of my native State, in whose behalf alone will I ever again draw my sword."

The demonstration, and the honor paid the general in the high appointment which had been given him, was not only well deserved, but was sure to be rewarded by able and gallant, as well as by most efficient, service. He had sacrificed not a little in resigning his cavalry command under the Union flag ; but this, as we have seen, was due to his preferred allegiance to his native State, no less than to his refusal to fight against her when it had withdrawn from the North and

joined her fortunes with those of the Confederacy. For this act of loyalty to the Commonwealth of Virginia, he had to abandon his loved Arlington, while he, with his dear wife and attached family, had become homeless, save for the temporary domicile in the White House, at Pamunkey, in which his wife and children had meanwhile found safety and shelter. But with all the patriotic sacrifice he had been called upon to make, Lee was not one to repine over duty conscientiously performed. His attitude amid the distractions and perils of the time is well shown at this juncture in a letter to his wife from Richmond (under date May 8, 1861). He there says: "I grieve at the anxiety that drives you from your home. I can appreciate your feelings on the occasion, and pray that you may receive comfort and strength in the difficulties that surround you. When I reflect upon the calamity pending over the country," he bravely and resignedly adds, "my own sorrows sink into insignificance." Very touching at this time is the spirit shown by Lee's noble wife, in a letter she addressed to her husband's admiring friend, the aged General Scott, giving him an account of her worthy husband's welcome by the Virginia Convention. Writing from Arlington (May 5, 1861)

before quitting her ancestral home, she thus addresses the veteran soldier: "My dear General:—Hearing that you desire to see the account of my husband's reception in Richmond, I have sent it to you. No honors can reconcile us to this fratricidal war which we would have laid down our lives to avert. Whatever may happen, I feel that I may expect from your kindness all the protection you can in honor afford. Nothing can ever make me forget your kind appreciation of Mr. Lee. If you knew all you would not think so hardly of me. Were it not that I would not add one feather to his load of care, nothing would induce me to abandon my home. Oh, that you could command peace to our distracted country! Yours in sadness and sorrow, M. C. LEE." Less than three weeks from the date of this epistle, the paternal home of the Lee family had to be abandoned, on the approach of an outpost of the Federal army, which made Arlington its headquarters, while taking possession of the heights of Washington and the region of the Potomac's banks as far as Alexandria.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DRAMA OPENS.

WHEN the Civil War was launched, the South, though confident and bold even to audacity, was in numbers weak, as compared with the North and the North-Western region, that threw in its lot with the Union. Of the thirty-one millions representing the population of the United States according to the Census of 1860, only some twelve millions dwelt in the Slave States, and but nine millions could be counted among the States of the South that actually seceded, since the Slave States of Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, did not unite with the Confederacy. Of these nine millions, it has to be remember, moreover, that about three and a half millions were slaves ; so that the entire strength of the Confederate States, in freemen, that broke away from and defied the Union, was only some five and a half millions, of which, in round numbers, two and a half millions were women,

leaving but three millions of a possible fighting strength to be opposed, roughly speaking, to three times the number in the North. The disparity in wealth and resources was also great, the preponderance being vastly on the side of the Union. On the other hand, the South was at the outset better prepared for conflict, and had proportionately a larger number of expert soldiers, used to arms, among them being many able officers who had seen considerable service in the Union army, and had a practical as well as a theoretical knowledge of and genius for war. The South, moreover, was from the first in deadly earnest, and fought, in the main, on the defensive and on its own soil, and that not only for what it conceived to be its rights in the institution of slavery, but for the inherent right of Secession, especially when its interests and free, independent action were in peril from Northern coercion and the clamor of what was deemed incendiary abolition dictation and fanaticism. In the view it took with regard to these rights and sectional claims, it looked at the outset for a division of sentiment in its favor in the North and West, as well as for recognition by, if not practical aid from, the European nations whose industry and commerce were dependent upon "King Cotton." In the indulging of

these hopes it was largely disappointed, for the West remained loyal to the Union; while the effectiveness of the Northern blockade of the Southern ports, and the absence of a Confederate navy, proved futile to Southern expectation of European interference and aid. Nor was it financially in a position to enter upon a prolonged struggle, as was ere long seen in the collapse of the Confederate Government's credit, depending, in the main, as it did upon issues of paper money which so depreciated in value that towards the close of the struggle it took \$500 of Confederate money to buy a pair of trooper's boots.

Another matter that favored the South throughout the course of the struggle, was the unity of its army organization, in the main, under a single directing mind, one who knew his men well, and that not only in units but in masses, and whom his men knew and trusted in a remarkable degree. In General Lee, moreover, the Southern cause had a commander capable of fighting a battle on a large scale, and who, as an engineer officer of great experience and astuteness, possessed a trained eye for adequate preliminary reconnaissance, and for every coign of vantage in the field; and at the same time had phenomenal personal qualities that gave him pre-eminence among the

leaders of the South, while they removed him far above self-seeking, petty jealousy, and fretfulness as to his rank-status or right to be where he was and remained throughout the war. In contrast with these things, the North, especially at the outset of the war, had no such single commander to lead with confidence and unerring judgment and purpose its arms, or who could bring on the field masses of trained men, enured to fighting, rather than fresh, hastily mobilized units, without staying power in a hot encounter, and who had all the inefficiency and timorousness of raw recruits. The North, we know, did better later on in the struggle, after it had got over its early chastening time of defeat and bafflement, and had fully roused itself to bring its greater strength of men and resources to bear upon the "rebels" and prosecute the war with effect and vigor to its final and successful issue. It did better, moreover, when such leaders of its armies as Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Rosecrans, Pope, and Thomas came to the front and replaced or overshadowed men of the lesser stamp like McClellan, Hancock, McDowell, Buell, Burnside, and Meade; though, at the best, if we except Grant, whose bull-dog tenacity and sledge-hammer though sanguinary work told in the issues of the conflict, with the

brilliant achievements of Sheridan and Sherman, the North had no such array of fighting generals, skilful tacticians, and strong, sagacious leaders as the South had in Lee, J. E. and A. S. Johnston, "Stonewall" Jackson, Beauregard, Bragg, Hood, and Early, who proved themselves foes it was folly to underrate. Besides this disadvantage, the North at the outset, moreover, made the palpable mistake of belittling its Union adversaries, and was even sceptical as to the imminence of war ; though the firing on Fort Sumter, the affair at Big Bethel, and discomfiture at Bull Run, with the flight of Union forces back upon the capital, speedily undeceived her ; and yet not to a greater or more adequate extent than led President Lincoln, some months before, to summon to the Nation's aid a defensive and aggressive force no heavier than that of 75,000 men, to serve for a period of only three months !

Meanwhile, as we know, the South was straining every nerve not only to strengthen the assailable sections of her frontier and vast coast line, put Richmond, now the Confederate capital, in an adequate state of defense, and watch the approaches to Virginia's borders, but even meditated a menacing raid upon Washington, to assail the North in its then ill-defended capital. Already

Lee, who by his own Virginian Commonwealth, had been given command of her military forces and was at work erecting fortifications and batteries round the State's sea-front and river mouths, was by this time called to the councils of the Confederacy at Richmond, under Jefferson Davis, its President and nominal commanding-general, thence was despatched to the mountains of Western Virginia in command of a body of troops to make reconnaissances and maintain an oversight of the situation. All here he succeeded, meantime, in doing, was to watch and, as far as possible, nullify the operations, on land and sea, of invading Northern forces in the region, until the early spring of 1862, when he was recalled to Richmond and there given command of the Army of Northern Virginia, with the special object of concentrating forces for the protection of the Confederate capital, then threatened by a Northern army under McClellan. Entrusted with this important and responsible task, General Lee entered with his wonted vigor upon his new duties. The cry in the North just then was, "On to Richmond!" for since McClellan had been given the chief command of the Northern forces he had as yet done nothing actively in the field, his extreme caution holding his hand; while

his attention to the details of organization occupied him fully, in spite of Northern impatience with his tardiness. At length, however, he proposed to put his command in motion, with the view of meeting the Union clamor for the capture of Richmond, though the Washington Administration insisted that in the move against the Confederate capital the safety of the Union capital should be amply provided for and secured. McClellan's project in advancing upon Richmond was not to move in force upon the Confederate entrenchments at Manassas and try the hazard of battle there with General J. E. Johnston, but to transport his army by water to the lower Chesapeake—to the Peninsula formed by the James and York rivers—and, with his base resting upon Fortress Monroe, advance upon Richmond from that quarter.

Before the Peninsular campaign was entered upon, in April, 1862, it had been going ill with the fortunes of the South in the West. There, thanks to the aid afforded by the Northern fleet, under Commodore Foote, Ulysses Grant, earlier in the year, had made his way up the Tennessee River and captured Fort Henry, following that by an attack upon Fort Donelson, on the Cumberland River, which, after two days' severe fighting

surrendered to him, with a loss of nearly 15,000 men. A little later than these Southern defeats, came other Northern successes, in the capture of Island Number Ten, on the Mississippi, and the fall of New Orleans to Admirals Farragut and Porter ; while the fiercely-contested battle of Shiloh, between A. S. Johnston and Buell and Grant, had been fought, the losses on both sides amounting to over 20,000 men, besides the killing of the Confederate commander (Johnston), whose command was taken over by Beauregard. These losses, together with the earlier Northern victories under Thomas at Mill Spring, and under Curtis at Pea Ridge, with the later surrender of Memphis to Commodore Davis, were irretrievable disasters to the South, not to speak of its having to abandon the control of the Mississippi. For the time, the Southern heart, on the other hand, was cheered by the doings of the armor-clad *Merrimac*, in Hampton Roads, where the transmogrified craft rammed and sank the Northern frigate *Cumberland*, burned the *Congress* and forced the *Minnesota* to seek safety in shoal water. After this, came the encounter with an equally formidable adversary, the Ericsson revolving turret ship *Monitor* (March, 1862), and the withdrawal of both *Monitor* and *Merrimac* after a

lavish waste of shot on both sides ; though the presence of and reputation gained by the *Monitor* relieved the Northern mind from dread of Southern attack on Eastern harbors by the Confederate ram. Nor were the complications of the era between the United States Government and Great Britain, in the *Trent* affair, without a ray of hope to the South, as being likely to lead to trouble between the two nations, and so be advantageous to the Confederate cause. The threatening aspect of affairs, as we know, however, speedily blew over, the Washington authorities having the good sense to recognize that Captain Wilkes' seizure of Messrs. Slidell and Mason on board the *Trent* was not only a violation of neutrality, but contrary to American contention and tradition.

While these events were happening, General McClellan, tardily meeting the Northern clamor for an advance upon Richmond, pursued his object of proceeding with his Army of the Potomac to Fortress Monroe, there to initiate his movement against the Confederate capital. Before setting out with his Peninsular army of invasion, the North had at Washington a fighting force of about 170,000 men ; yet, with this large body of troops at his command, McClellan was, as we have seen, timidly afraid of marching upon Richmond

through Johnston's defensive lines at Manassas. He preferred, as we have related, to operate from the lower Chesapeake, where he hoped to have had the aid of the Northern gunboats to protect the flanks of his army. In this he was, however, disappointed, since the Union gunboats were at the time fully occupied in keeping watch over the terrible ironclad, the *Merrimac*. He was further disappointed in having to leave behind him, for the defense of Washington, about 40,000, instead of 20,000 men, the Lincoln Administration insisting that McDowell's army corps should be retained, in addition to the 20,000 troops, which were all McClellan had designed to leave at the capital. As it was, he had with him a force well nigh 130,000 strong, to pit against the Southern armies, all told, of less than half that number in Virginia, to protect Richmond, and guard the coast line and other approaches to the Southern capital. Of the latter force, the Southern general, Magruder, had under him, to confront McClellan when he reached the Peninsula, a body of but 11,000 troops, which were extended behind defensive lines, some twelve miles in length, from Yorktown, where his left rested, along the Warwick River to Mulberry Island, to his right flank on the James. On McClellan's failure to meet Johnston at Manassas

and proceeding to the Chesapeake, the latter met the movement by withdrawing from the region of Bull Run, and took up a new position on the Rappahannock, where he could better oppose McClellan. Meanwhile, Magruder's front was reinforced by the divisions of Jubal Early, D. R. Jones, and D. H. Hill, increasing the Southern defensive array to oppose the Federal advance to 53,000 men, the chief command of all being now assumed (April 17, 1862) by General J. E. Johnston, who had also the general charge of the Department of Norfolk.

It took the remainder of the month of April for McClellan to make his reconnaissances in the region and ascertain the strength of the forces opposed to him ; and when this was done he proceeded to erect batteries commanding Yorktown and to prepare for a general assault. While thus engaged, a council of war had been held at Richmond, in which General Lee took a leading directing part, and which favored the withdrawal of the Southern defensive line and concentrate it nearer to the Confederate capital. This decision having been come to, Yorktown was abandoned, the retreat upon Williamsburg being for a time adroitly concealed by a furious cannonade from the batteries of the place. The movement was

one of chagrin to McClellan, for he had hoped to take Yorktown by siege and assault, having expended weeks in preparing for it, and was, moreover, confident of success. All he had for his pains was the occupying of the evacuated Confederate works, and the pursuit of the retreating Southern defenders of the post. In the retreat towards Richmond, an effective stand was made at Williamsburg by the troops under Longstreet and D. H. Hill, who fought the pursuing Northern force under Hooker and Hancock, General Sumner being in chief command ; while a division under Kearny later came on the field. Battle had been given at Williamsburg, so as to check Federal pursuit and allow time for Johnston to get the mass of his army and its equipment well on the road to Richmond. As it was, the Northerners, were hotly repulsed, suffering a heavy loss of over 2,000 men in killed and wounded, in addition to some pieces of artillery captured by "the rebels." The battle lasted throughout the day of May 5th, when the Confederates fell back towards the Chickahominy, at the same time withdrawing the garrison under Huger, from Norfolk, Va. In spite of defeat McClellan continued the advance upon Richmond, having for his new base the White House, on the Pamunkey. By this time

he had been relieved of the chief command of the Northern forces by General Halleck at Washington, and was now solely responsible for the Federal operations in the Peninsula, though in conducting these he looked for support from McDowell's division, which was now advanced from the neighborhood of Manassas to Fredericksburg. Here it was, however, detained by instructions from Washington, much to McClellan's annoyance, owing to continued fear of a Southern advance upon the Union capital by Jackson's alertly-moving command, which was operating menacingly in the Valley of Virginia. It was to Jackson, at this juncture, that Richmond, now in real dread of McClellan, was saved from assault and possible occupation by the Army of the Potomac. To his active, adroit, and tactical movements in the Valley, which alarmed Washington, and kept McDowell from joining McClellan, the South owed the deliverance of its capital seat; while it gave Johnston the opportunity to give his attention to the Federal forces now massing on the Chickahominy.

McClellan's advance upon Richmond was for a time balked by difficulties in getting across the latter stream (the Chickahominy), the retreating Confederates having destroyed its bridges in fall-

ing back upon the capital ; while the wet season had swollen the river greatly and rendered very swampy its banks. One of the Northern army wings was, however, got across the stream, by means of pontoons, in the neighborhood of Bottom Bridge, and the corps composing it—those of Keyes, Franklin, and Heintzelman—Johnston now proceeded to attack. The engagement that ensued—that at Seven Pines or Fair Oaks—took place on the last day of May and the first of June (1862), and was stubbornly fought by J. E. Johnston and his next ranking officer, G. W. Smith. In the battle, the Federals met with a severe rebuff, and were repeatedly driven back on the Chickahominy, the timely arrival of Sumner's corps only saving them from annihilation or utter rout. At the close of the first day's fighting, General Johnston was unfortunate enough to be severely wounded, and this disabled him from taking part in, or even directing, the morrow's operations. The incidents of the second day's battle were unimportant in results on either side, both armies remaining on the ground at the close of the fighting and protecting themselves by entrenchments. Johnston's disablement for the time from active service brought General Lee upon the scene, however, President Davis per-

mitting him at length to take the field, while he appointed him Commander-in-chief.

With Lee's return to active duty in the field, McClellan's designs upon the Confederate capital were signally balked ; while the presence and superb leadership of the great Southern soldier were great gains to the South in the crisis of invasion. This was presently seen by the vigorous campaign he now entered upon at the head of the Northern Army of Virginia, and by its operations during the critical era of the Seven Days' Battles in front of Richmond. The troops under him, or within call from Richmond, did not, all told, exceed 60,000 men ; against which McClellan, at this time, had an army double in number, without reckoning the corps under McDowell, Fremont, and Banks, which were nigh at hand. At this period, Jackson, once more, was of great service to Lee and the Southern cause in continuing his daring operations in the Virginia Valley, where he was now joined by Ewell's division, and with whose co-operation he fell first upon Fremont, whom he drove back upon Western Virginia, and then attacked and routed Banks, who fled across the Potomac. These Northern repulses foiled any hope of McDowell's joining McClellan, and com-

elled the latter to rely upon his own already large resources. The situation of the South at this time was, moreover, brightened ; while Lee and his army, still holding McClellan in check on the Chickahominy, was encouraged, by the brilliant reconnaissance ride of General Stuart and his Southern cavalry command round the whole of the widely-extended lines of the Federal position, during which Stuart and his men did much serviceable work in learning of the strength and weakness of McClellan's lines, as well as in harassing the outposts of the enemy.

At this juncture in the South's affairs, General Lee had a heavy and responsible duty to face, having in front of him, within only five or six miles of Richmond, a Northern army, eleven divisions strong, with but five divisions, at most, under him, to pit against this unequal force. Disposing his command—which consisted of the divisions under Huger, Longstreet, Magruder, A. P. Hill, and D. H. Hill—to the best advantage, Lee saw that his best tactics lay in attacking one or other of the enemy's flanks. The right flank was the one he chose to operate against, the topographical features of the country on McClellan's right and rear being favorable to assault from that quarter. Moreover, the in-

formation which General Stuart had gleaned for him, in his daring ride round McClellan's lines, confirmed Lee in his decision to attack the enemy on the right. In thus deciding, he was also influenced by the brilliant movements of "Stonewall" Jackson in the Virginia Valley, and the distractions caused McClellan by these exploits, which brought "Stonewall" in rear of the Federal right, and in a position to aid Lee in the vigorous onslaught he was about to undertake. Now was launched the famous Seven Days' conflict (June 26–July 2), which brought consternation to the Federal commander, and not only foiled him in his anticipated capture of the "rebel" capital, but caused his entire plans to miscarry, and actually drove him and his invading army from the Peninsula. The vigor and daring, as well as the brilliance, of Lee's operations, which resulted in this signal discomfiture of his boastful Northern adversary, were conspicuous throughout the Seven Days' battles ; while their success caused renewed despair at Washington, and correspondingly elated the whole South. They, moreover, infused fresh ardor into all ranks of the Confederate armies, and increasingly stiffened the back of rebellion. Nor was McClellan's failure in the Peninsular

campaign simply a defeat, or rather a series of defeats ; it came near involving the destruction or surrender of the entire army of the Potomac, and that in spite of the stubborn fightings which marked almost the whole course of the retreat from the Chickahominy to the James River, and the skill shown by the Federal commander in extricating himself and his forces from the region, which Nature had further rendered a toilsome and difficult one to penetrate. Amply, however, was Lee rewarded by the success he achieved, splendidly aided as he was by the loyal support and active, determined work of his ably co-operating generals.

Of the latter generals, Lee received perhaps the greatest assistance from Stonewall Jackson, who, as we have seen, was operating in the Virginia Valley, and had just defeated Fremont at Cross Keys and Shields at Port Republic (June 8-9). From the Valley Lee had asked Jackson to come secretly to his aid, leaving in the region only such portions of his command as were necessary to keep watch over the Northern corps he had been fighting, and concealing from the enemy the suggested junction with General Lee. To replace Jackson's own personal command, Lee had directed Brigadier-Generals Lawton and Whiting,

with their respective corps, to join "Stonewall" and aid him in crushing the Northerners in the Valley, and then, with his main body, including Ewell's division and Lawton and Whiting's contingents, move rapidly to Ashland, thence sweep down between the Chickahominy and the Pamunkey, where it was hinted Jackson could cut the enemy's communications while Lee was to attack McClellan in front. For a time, McClellan was in the dark about this understanding between Lee and Jackson, which was arranged more in detail at a personal conference between the two Confederate leaders on a flying visit to Richmond. McClellan, moreover, was purposely misled not only as to this co-operating movement, but also as to the strength of the Southern forces to be brought against him, which he seems to have reckoned at the preposterously extravagant number of 200,000 men. The truth is, the Confederate strength under Lee at this time was not over 81,000, to pit against which the Union had a fighting force of 105,000 effective men.

At last McClellan gained a knowledge of the movement against his right flank on the north bank of the Chickahominy, in which, besides Jackson's command, the two Hills, Longstreet, and Branch, were to take part; while Lee left

Holmes, Magruder, and Huger, to make a counter-demonstration upon the Federal front. In beginning to carry out the movement, Jackson and Branch, guided by Stuart's cavalry, reached Ashland on June 25, after which the combined columns pressed on towards Cold Harbor. On the following day, D. H. Hill rather unexpectedly gave battle to Fitz-John Porter at Mechanicsville, and after a stiff fight he pressed the latter's command back to Beaver Dam Creek and Gaines' Mill. At New Cold Harbor, the fighting became general, Lee having ordered a combined assault in force against Porter, in which the corps of Jackson, Ewell, Longstreet, Whiting, and the two Hills, took an active and at times a daring part. For a time the rebel attack was met chiefly by Porter's artillery ; though, as the assault was pressed, the Northern commander continued to fall back, a movement which, as a whole, was now decided upon by McClellan, who sought to reach the James River, about twenty-five miles distant, through the intricacies of the White Oak Swamp. The federal position was now one of extreme peril, and much depended upon Porter's tactics of defense, so as to allow time for the withdrawal of the mass of McClellan's army and prevent Jackson, at Lee's bidding, from getting in rear of him

and cutting off his retreat. As Hill pressed the Federals at this juncture, in the face of a furious fire, he discovered the strength of Porter's position ; but he nevertheless continued gallantly to assail them, aided, at Lee's instructions, by Longstreet's division, and later by those of Ewell and Whiting. Still later, Hill was cheered by the approach of the indomitable Jackson's division, when the Federals fell back from Beaver Dam Creek in confusion ; though they saved themselves from further disaster by the coming on of night, as well as by the nature of the region, which made it difficult for effective pursuit in the darkness. The losses on both sides were heavy from the day's operations, and nightfall was consequently hailed with gladness, especially by the Northerners, who fell back on the Powhite Creek.

Meanwhile, the main Federal army had withdrawn from its base at the White House, on the Pamunkey, and the line of the York River railroad, taking with it such of its equipment and baggage as could be carried off in retreat, and destroying the remainder—a large amount of Federal property—besides burning the bridge, on the way back to the James. At Savage Station and the neighborhood there were several hot brushes with the retreating Federals, in which many of the

latter were taken prisoners ; while for a time a determined stand was made at Frazier's Farm by the commands under Sumner and Heintzelman. Here, on June 30, the Southern columns were held stiffly in check, in spite of the vigorous assaults of the forces under Jackson, Longstreet, and A. P. Hill ; while another battle was fought at Malvern Bridge, and simultaneous fighting went on along all the swampy country over which the Federals were retreating, back as far as Westover, which McClellan reached on July 4, and where he eagerly sought the safety of the strong Federal defensive works there, protected by the Northern gunboats in the river.

With McClellan's retreat, Lee had been able not only to bring relief to the Confederate capital, but to unite the entire forces of his varied command on the south side of the Chickahominy and deliver the many offensive attacks which marked the period of the Seven Days' battles. From these almost continuous assaults McClellan narrowly escaped destruction or enforced surrender, mainly owing to the inferior numbers of the Southern fighting armies and to the difficult country through which the Federal commander-in-chief had cleverly conducted his retreat. Even at Westover, where he had strong entrenchments

to take shelter in and the Union gunboats in the James to protect him, McClellan barely saved his force from the strategy of Major-General Stuart, who, with great sagacity, seized, and against stout Federal opposition pluckily held for a time, Evelington Heights, an eminence overlooking Westover that commanded the entire position occupied by the Northern army after its retreat. In the Seven Days' fighting the losses on each side exceeded fifteen thousand men, the casualties naturally falling more heavily on the Southern side, as the offensive one throughout the repulse. In addition, the Northerners lost many guns, as well as captured men and equipment ; while they also burned in their retreat very considerable military stores, tents, baggage, and other camp-appurtenances. To Lee, the successes of the period were not all he had hoped for and had brilliantly sought to achieve ; but he made few mistakes, and had much to felicitate himself upon, with a heightened record for coolness, reliance, and sagacity, and increased reputation for superb skill in planning, and great force and effectiveness in executing, his operations.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST POPE IN NORTHERN VIRGINIA, AND THE SECOND BATTLE OF BULL RUN.

THE failure of McClellan's operations in the Virginia Peninsula was naturally disconcerting to the Federal Administration at Washington and led to further alarm over the safety of the capital, as well as to a call (July 2) for 300,000 volunteers, for a term of service of three years. The War Department, a week later, moreover, appointed Major-General Halleck commander-in-chief, and about the same time gave the command of the Army of Virginia, for the protection of the Federal capital, to Major-General John Pope, one of Halleck's divisional commanders in the West, who had gained some reputation by the capture, in February, 1862, of Island No. 8, in the Mississippi. These appointments, as it turned out, however, were mere makeshifts, resorted to in the dilemma the Washington authorities found themselves in, with such masterly Southern fighters actively in the field as Lee and Stonewall Jackson. They

were also made in consequence of the shaking of Northern confidence in McClellan, who was now ordered by Halleck to withdraw his army from the James River and place it under the direction of Pope, in front of Washington. This was what Lee most desired, as it not only removed the menace involved in the presence of 100,000 Federal troops within striking distance of Richmond, but freed the great Southern chieftain and his army to test Pope's metal in operations north of the Rappahannock. The measure of Pope's ability was presently now to be taken and put to the test; already, by his boastful General Order on assuming the chief command, he had discredited his sagacity as a general officer and gained for himself the jeers of friend and foe alike. Nor did his proclamations in regard to unarmed citizens and private property, in the section of Northern Virginia where his command was, manifest either tact or humanity. Otherwise, he acted wisely in collecting together under him the scattered brigades of McDowell, Fremont, and Banks, amounting to close upon 60,000 men, and advancing them across the Rappahannock, menacingly near to both Gordonsville and Charlottesville, important intersecting points in Northern Virginia.

To oppose this movement of Pope, General Lee once more relied upon his sturdy lieutenant in arms, General Stonewall Jackson, whom he directed to move, with Ewell's command, to Gordonsville, where he arrived on July 19. A week later, Jackson's army was strengthened by the junction with it of A. P. Hill's division—a combined force of about 19,000 men, against which it had more than double that number so far opposed to it under Pope. On being apprised of Jackson's presence at Gordonsville, the new Federal Commander-in-chief directed General Banks to advance with his force of 28,000 from Cedar Run to join him. In obeying this command of his superior, Banks got as far as Culpeper Court House, near which Jackson's advance came across him and gave him battle, aided by the brigades under Ewell and Early. At a crisis in the contest that ensued, "Stonewall" himself was impelled to take the field, at the head of his own brigade, and with the timely help of a portion of A. P. Hill's division, that had come up at the juncture when it was going ill with the Confederate forces, the Federal attacks were repulsed, and Banks and his army were driven in rout from the field, leaving upon it his Northern dead and wounded. After the victory—known as the battle

of Cedar Run—Jackson, on the following day (Aug. 10), learning that Banks was being heavily reinforced, recrossed the Rapidan and returned to Gordonsville. His object in this was to await developments in a stronger position, when Pope or Banks was ready to resume fighting, and also to enable him the better to keep in touch with General Lee.

At length, to General Lee's relief, who feared, when McClellan's army joined Pope, that a concentrated movement upon Richmond directly from the North would ensue, McClellan betook himself from the James, his army being returned to Washington by sea from Harrison's Landing, close to Westover, where his camp for some time had been. Already Pope had advanced his batteries to the north bank of the Rapidan; and thither, on the south bank, Lee began to remove his army, with the design of proceeding north to the Rappahannock to execute a purpose which he in concert with Jackson and Longstreet, had conceived, of getting in rear of Pope's left flank, and with another portion of his army to get round the Federal right and cut the Northern army's communications with Washington. From August 25th to the 27th, saw the initial movements of this daring design put in execution, by way of

Thoroughfare Gap, the narrow pass in Bull Run mountain close to Manassas. To strengthen his forces for the accomplishment of this clever piece of tactics, Lee had ordered up from Richmond the divisions under D. H. Hill, Wilkes, and McLaws, which, on their arrival, gave Lee a combined force of nearly 60,000 men, to pit against Pope's total, of close upon 92,000 ; for the latter had summoned Burnside's and King's commands from Fredericksburg to join him. To add to the Federal hosts, McClellan's advance corps, together with those of Porter, Sumner, and Heintzelman, were now pouring in from Fredericksburg and Alexandria. In spite of his greater strength, Pope was nevertheless in much bewilderment as to the possible quarters from which the Confederate generals would launch their attacks upon him ; while, at the same time, he was anxious to meet successively their commands in action rather than have to fight a united Southern army in the field. Especially did he seek to prevent the junction of Lee, Longstreet, and Jackson, or any two of them, until he himself had had some measure of success, and had tried his luck with one or other of them separately. He was soon now to obtain what he desired, and indeed more than he cared to grapple with, and with disastrous

results to his reputation and tragic consequences to his Northern army. While in the midst of these anxieties, Jackson's 20,000 men were resolutely pressing forward to Manassas Junction ; while Longstreet took up a position at Orleans, leaving Lee, meanwhile, to keep watch on the river at Waterloo and send a supporting corps to Jackson and Longstreet. By August 27th, the latter had covered the fifteen miles between Orleans and White Plains, thence to his junction with "Stonewall" at the eastern end of Thoroughfare Gap, seven miles further on. Hither Lee himself came to overlook the ground and confer with his veteran generals, some of whose corps were now grappling with the enemy and falling on the Federal flank. In the region, Jackson, with the aid of Stuart's and Trimble's cavalry contingent, had come upon the Federal rear with such surprise that they fell upon Pope's immense army supplies, and had for once a day's high carnival on the bounties furnished by the Northern commissariat. To Jackson's indifferently garbed, ill foot-shod, and poorly-fed men, operating in a country largely overrun by an enemy, the falling upon the Federal army stores was at the period a God-send, though little beyond the most pressing necessities of the command, with a day's good and

appetizing rations, could be made use of ; while the great bulk of them, as the spoils of war, had to be destroyed or given to the flames, it having been impossible just then to transport them to the "rebel" lines.

By the 28th of August, Jackson and his eager, alert command, with shotted guns, reached Groveton, adjoining Warrenton, close by the old battle-ground of Bull Run. Meanwhile, several corps of the enemy were converging upon Centreville, Pope's headquarters, where some of "Stonewall's" brigades engaged a column under King, of McDowell's command, and forced it to retreat. Next day (the 29th) Jackson (20,000 strong) was again in hot conflict with the Federals between Groveton and Sudley. Here, on Jackson's left, the enemy, about 35,000 in number, under Sigel, supported later in the day by Reno and Heintzelman, were making a tremendous onslaught on the "rebel" veterans. These Federal onsets were repeated half a dozen times during the day, the final assault being made about 5 p. m. by the divisions of Kearney and Stevens, though Jackson's men had hardly ammunition left, after the long day's expenditure of it, to repel the last attack. All the Federal assaults were successfully beaten off by Stonewall's invincible com-

mand. During the day, General Lee, though unknown to Pope, was a keen and watchful onlooker of the tactful operations of his able and resourceful lieutenant, his army being drawn up across the Warrenton turnpike, and alongside the brigades under Longstreet ; while Pope was strengthened by the coming of Porter and McDowell and their commands from Manassas. The conflict was renewed on the morrow (Aug. 30th), by the advance of Porter's army, flanked by the divisions of King and Reynolds, on Jackson's left center. The delivery of these assaults was vigorously met by Jackson's "Ironsides" under Starke and Lawton ; while the Confederate batteries were unerringly directed under the eye of Lee and A. P. Hill. Later in the day, the play of these guns, with their enfilading fire, wrought dire havoc among the Federal masses, following which came a splendid charge of Longstreet's brigade that broke the Federal lines and drove the Unionist troops into a confused stampede. Nightfall saw fugitive masses rushing across the Bull Run, Pope himself seeking safety in his headquarters at Centreville. The following day (Sunday, the 31st), the pursuit of the Federals was pressed by Lee, when Pope ordered a retreat to Fairfax, Jackson's command taking up the

pursuit on Monday in a rainstorm so furious as to render firearms useless, save for the bayonet, which came effectually and fatally into play. Thus was Pope driven in dismay from the Virginia borders, and for the time being the weary, footsore Southern forces had a brief spell of well-earned rest.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MARYLAND CAMPAIGN.

THE Federal rout at the second battle of Bull Run was reported to President Davis by General Lee, in his usual modest and restrained manner, from his temporary resting-place at Chantilly, on the 3rd of September. The effect upon the North of the entire failure of the campaign in Virginia was extremely depressing, and roused much impatient criticism of the War Department and its luckless commanders. A further effect of the Federal disasters was to revive national fears for the safety of the capital, besides dread of invasion by the South of the border States which had remained loyal to the Union. Lee informed President Davis that the two days' conflict at Bull Run cost the enemy a loss of 8,000 men in killed and wounded, among the former being the Union General Kearny, who was left dead on the field ; while the Confederates lost five colonels killed and six general officers wounded, among the latter being Generals Ewell and

Trimble. He further reported that about 7,000 prisoners had been taken and paroled ; while thirty pieces of cannon, many thousand stand of small arms, and a large number of wagons, ambulances, and other stores, were captured, in addition to the large amount of Federal property destroyed by the Union forces in retreat. At this period, General Lee himself suffered an accidental injury to his left hand, which for a short while kept him out of the saddle. He was, nevertheless, anxious to press discomfiture further home upon the North, by crossing the Potomac and invading Maryland, where, doubtless, the South had many sympathizers, though they were naturally under more or less Federal pressure and restraint. His army was at this period, however, indifferently equipped for invasion, lacking supplies of all kinds, alike in the commissary's and in the quartermaster's departments, and in need of rest as well as of refreshment. For some months back, it had endured almost continued privation ; while the stress of the campaign had been severe on its now greatly depleted ranks. In spite of all this, and of the lack of adequate ammunition, with an inefficient transport service, Lee was eager to prosecute the war across the Potomac ; and this he set out to do, leading his immediate

command in the direction of Frederick, Md. On arriving there (Sept. 8), followed by the brigades under Jackson, D. H. Hill, and Longstreet, with a scouting force under the vigilant Stuart, Lee issued a proclamation to the people of Maryland, in the nature of a greeting to a sister State, allied to the South by traditional, social and political ties, and assuring them of protection, and, if they desired it, aid in freeing the State from "the condition of a conquered province." The proclamation was discreetly as well as temperately worded ; but those to whom it was addressed seemed loath at present to assert sovereign independence for their State, and, by throwing in their lot with the South, bring upon themselves Federal vengeance. Hence Lee did not get the support he expected in the State, and that chiefly because his hoped-for allies were in Southern and Eastern Maryland, between whom and himself lay a strong force of the Federal army under McClellan, who had once more been given the chief Unionist command. The Southern leader lost no time, however, in vain regret, but presently turned his attention to rid the region to the west of him and the Virginia Valley of Union troops, and get up from Winchester the much-needed supplies for his army.

While McClellan was in search of Lee to bring him again to battle, the great Southern leader desired to keep his old adversary and his freshly-organized army of nearly 90,000 men away from his base of supplies. With this intent, he now withdrew from Frederick, and moved northward *via* Boonsboro' towards Hagerstown. But Lee had another purpose in view in making this movement, which was the daring one of capturing the Federal garrisons and occupying Martinsburg and Harper's Ferry. These posts, General Halleck had ordered still to be held, in spite of McClellan's suggestion that they should be vacated, while Maryland was invaded by Lee and his army. To secure them, cut off their garrisons' retreat down the Potomac, and capture the well-stored arsenal, with its munitions of war, of Harper's Ferry, while clearing the Virginia Valley from all possible interference with his communications, Lee entrusted Jackson and Ewell with the task, giving them the assistance also of Hill's division, with those of McLaws, Anderson, and Walker. The execution of the project was unexpectedly but gratifyingly successful; for on the approach of Hill's command the Martinsburg garrison evacuated the place and withdrew to Harper's Ferry; while the latter, after a stiff fight for the com-

manding Federal positions on Maryland and Bolivar Heights, overlooking the post, and a hot bombardment, hoisted the white flag of surrender to Jackson and Hill. With the fall of Harper's Ferry (Sept. 14), the Confederates captured 11,000 Federal troops, over 70 pieces of artillery, 13,000 stand of arms, besides 200 wagons and a large amount of army stores. Leaving Hill to receive the surrender and look after the captured treasure, Jackson hastened back by forced marches with his command to Sharpsburg, in answer to an urgent call from Lee, whose army was suddenly confronted by that of McClellan, the Federal commander having obtained possession of a confidential memorandum of Lee to D. H. Hill, outlining the plan of his projected campaign. The possession of this communication, however obtained, was of great value to McClellan, and for once the latter took instant advantage of it, and urged forward his army to checkmate the Southern chieftain, who was in ignorance of the miscarriage of the memorandum of instructions and of his adversary's knowledge of his designs and the outlined disposition of his forces.

The appearance of the Federal main body so unexpectedly at Boonsboro' was at first an embarrassment, not to say a perplexity, to Lee, as

well as an alarming menace, considering how his army had been broken up and weakened by the despatch of portions of it on detached expeditions. He, however, summoned Longstreet's command from Hagerstown to the support of Hill, who by this time was keeping at bay at Fox's Gap a strong Federal force under Reno, and at Turner's Gap was also fighting off a furious onset by Hooker, both defensive actions being gallantly maintained through the entire day of Sept. 14. Southward from Turner's Gap, at another pass in the mountain ridge in the vicinity of Boonsboro', McLaws' small contingent was on the same day driven from the Gap (Crampton's) he sought pluckily to defend against a force of 8,000 belonging to Franklins' command. The prospect was hence far from cheering to General Lee, who had himself to give way before the advance of McClellan's main body and retire upon Sharpsburg, to which place he directed McLaws also to retreat with his shattered corps. Here, at Sharpsburg, on the early morning of the 15th, Lee made what disposition of his forces was possible to him under the strained circumstances ; though by noon his great heart was relieved by news of Jackson's success at Harper's Ferry, and his now rapid approach. Gladdened by the news, Lee at once decided to give Mc-

Clellan battle at Sharpsburg, though he had, as yet, only a mere handful of men (not over 12,000) to oppose to the advance column (about 60,000 strong) of the Unionist army. The enemy, moreover, was inspirited by their successes and by the losses (close upon 3,000) they had inflicted on the commands of Hill, Longstreet, and McLaws ; while their own losses were much smaller, though the Federal General Reno had fallen, and they had captured many prisoners. But the fighting in the region of South Mountain was but the preliminaries of a general engagement, which was now to be fought in the neighborhood of Antietam Creek, in front of Sharpsburg, where General Lee had taken up position.

Here, at Sharpsburg, on the 16th of September, the Federal army came up in strong force, when McClellan at once formed his lines of attack, with Porter in the center, Burnside on his left flank, and Hooker, Franklin, and Sumner on his right. Jackson by this time had arrived with his command, and was assigned to a position on the Hagerstown road, extending towards the Potomac, supported on his left rear by Hood and Stuart, while on his right were the depleted divisions of Hill, Longstreet, and Walker. On the 17th, Hooker's command, supported by Mansfield

(18,000 strong), which had crossed the Antietam, now advanced, covered by a furious cannonade, and sought to get possession of the Hagerstown road. Jackson quickly divined the Federal movement and its purpose, and endeavored to oppose it with his own division, and Ewell's, under Lawton, a combined force of but 4,000 men. Lee's entire army was now still under 35,000 ; but, in spite of the great disparity in numbers, the Confederates once more exhibited their superiority as a fighting force by repulsing, throughout a long day's sanguinary encounter, every attack of the whole army of the enemy, extending along its entire front for fully four miles.

The chief incidents of the battle, perhaps the most bloody so far of the war, were the desperate defense of the Confederate left line, which brought it a grim harvest of death from the enfilading fire of a Federal battery, commandingly placed, though it was vigorously replied to by the guns under Stuart and S. D. Lee ; the falling back of Jackson's command, on the advance of Sumner, after having heroically repelled both Hooker's and Mansfield's corps, and exhausted its ammunition ; and the murderous fire that had fallen on Hayes' and Walker's brigades from the overwhelming Federal onset. Luckily for the

Confederates, Lee was able, at a crisis in the day's unequal contest, to strengthen Jackson with two brigades from Longstreet's right, and so save "Stonewall" from rout by or surrender to the fresh forces Sumner had brought up after he had practically driven Hooker and Mansfield from the field. This timely intervention turned the scale in the "rebel" favor, and foiled McClellan's game of turning Lee's left. Signal also was the deliverance during the day from Burnside's repeated attempts to force a passage across the Stone Bridge over the Antietam Creek, with the design of capturing Sharpsburg, and so cutting off Lee from his communications at Shepherdstown. To defend the Bridge and protect Lee's center during the conflict on the Confederate left, the single division of General D. R. Jones, of Longstreet's command, and the small brigade of General Toombs (only 400 strong) was all that could be spared to keep Burnside's large force in check. Late in the afternoon, the latter at length forced his way across the Creek and beat back both Toombs and Jones, when A. P. Hill's 2,000 men from Harper's Ferry appeared on the scene, and, by Lee's orders, rushed to Jones's assistance, stemmed the retreat, and finally drove Burnside back to the shelter of the Federal batteries across

the Antietam. Most opportune was the arrival and prompt, daring service of Hill and his command at the juncture, for serious would have been the result to the Southern army had Burnside succeeded in his attempt, in spite even of the success met with on the Confederate left and in other parts of the bloody field. As it was, dire had been the day's carnage, and pitiful were the masses of dead, of both armies, which strewed the battle-field when night drew its pall of darkness over the scene. Stubborn, nevertheless, was Lee's determination to renew the struggle on the morrow, but in this he was indifferently supported by his chief lieutenants, after a council of war, called by Lee at the close of the day's fighting, for almost entire commands had been annihilated, and the day's havoc might well make the stoutest heart quail. In spite of this adverse counsel, and the suggestion thrown out by most of his generals to withdraw across the Potomac, Lee held to his decision to renew the fighting with the dawn of a new day. He was led to take this stand from a knowledge of the punishment the Federals had had, and the dread of still more disastrous consequences to "the boys in blue" if the fighting was renewed. He was also encouraged by the accession he had gained during the day in A. P.

Hill's command from Harper's Ferry, and by the return to their respective corps of several thousands who had been left behind to recruit their strength and provide themselves with new outfits at the period when Lee's army had entered Maryland.

With the battle of Sharpsburg, or Antietam, as it is also called, the invasion of Maryland came, however, to a close ; for though Lee remained in possession of the well-contested battlefield during the day of Sept. 18, awaiting a renewal of the fighting, McClellan did not venture again to attack him, but spent the day in reorganizing his shattered army and strengthening it by further reinforcements from Washington. On the night of the 18th, as the Southern army was badly in need of every necessary want, Lee therefore deemed it wiser to fall in with his generals' suggestion to withdraw across the Potomac and seek rest and refreshment for his wearied and comfortless forces on the Virginia shore. The crossing was effected near Shepherdstown, everything of value, including the spoils of Harper's Ferry, being withdrawn, save his unburied dead ; a rear force being left to guard the ford over which the Confederates retreated and foil any attempt by the enemy in pursuit. The bulk of

the army then proceeded to Winchester to await the coming of fresh troops from Richmond, with the return of those who had been left to recruit their strength on the Virginia side of the river, before Maryland had been invaded. On learning of the withdrawal of the Southern army, McClellan despatched Porter's corps in pursuit, only to be stopped at the ford by Pendleton's artillery and a small rear-protecting body of infantry. Here, on the night of the 19th, Porter, however, managed to get his command across the Potomac, aided in this by the fire of his own guns from the Maryland shore. When this became known to Lee, he directed a part of Hill's division to return to the river and drive Porter's force across it. This was so effectively accomplished that masses of Porter's men were either captured or driven into the river and drowned—an exploit that so alarmed McClellan that no further pursuit of the Confederates was for the time attempted, and they were thus left to a season of restful quiet at Winchester. How greatly needed was this period of rest may be realized when we recall that the Southern army had within the space of three brief months marched fully 300 miles, for the most part bare-footed and in tattered regimentals, with no adequate sustenance; while it had fought in and

won a dozen engagements, captured many thousand prisoners, besides 150 cannon, many thousand stand of arms, and a large amount of valuable army stores and material of war. It had also inflicted a loss upon the enemy of nearly 70,000 men, a sixth of whom had fallen at Antietam ; while its own loss in the latter was over 8,000, out of a total of 35,000—the entire strength of the Confederate army when it withdrew to Winchester. While quartered there, General Lee, with his usual thoughtfulness, issued the following General Order (dated Headquarters of the Army of Northern Virginia, Oct. 2, 1862), reviewing the incidents of the campaign and commending his army for its valiant achievements :

“ In reviewing the achievements of the army during the present campaign, the Commanding General cannot withhold the expression of his admiration of the indomitable courage it has displayed in battle, and its cheerful endurance of privation and hardship on the march.

“ Since your great victories around Richmond, you have defeated the enemy at Cedar Mountain, expelled him from the Rappahannock, and after a conflict of three days, utterly repulsed him on the Plains of Manassas, and forced him to take shelter within the fortifications around his cap-

ital. Without halting for repose, you crossed the Potomac, stormed the heights of Harper's Ferry, made prisoners of more than 11,000 men, and captured upwards of 70 pieces of artillery, all their small arms, and other munitions of war. While one corps of the army was thus engaged, the other ensured its success by arresting, at Boonsboro', the combined armies of the enemy, advancing under their favorite General to the relief of their beleaguered comrades.

"On the field of Sharpsburg, with less than one-third his numbers, you resisted, from daylight till dark, the whole army of the enemy, and repulsed every attack along his entire front, of more than four miles in extent. The whole of the following day you stood prepared to resume the conflict on the same ground, and retired next morning, without molestation, across the Potomac. Two attempts, subsequently made by the enemy, to follow you across the river, have resulted in his complete discomfiture, each being driven back with loss.

"Achievements such as these demanded much valor and patriotism. History records few examples of greater fortitude and endurance than this army has exhibited ; and I am commissioned by the President to thank you in the name of the Confederate States for the undying fame you

have won for their arms. Much as you have done, much more remains to be accomplished. The enemy again threatens us with invasion, and to your tried valor and patriotism the country looks with confidence for deliverance and safety. Your past exploits give assurance that this confidence is not misplaced.

R. E. LEE, *General Commanding.*

CHAPTER IX.

THE FREDERICKSBURG CAMPAIGN (OCT.-DEC., 1862); AND THE EDICT OF EMANCIPATION.

AFTER issuing the appreciative General Order to his army, given at the close of the last chapter, General Lee, having received some 5,000 additional troops, cast about him to see how he could best pursue the struggle and continue successfully to meet his adversary, "the little Napoleon." One thing was now clear to him, that, with his small army, he could not hope again to take the offensive; all he could well do was to keep further watch on the Federal approaches to Richmond, harass the outposts of the enemy, and by daring raids interfere with its communications with Washington, and learn what he could of McClellan's future movements. In the two latter designs, he had in the gallant Stuart and his cavalry command a highly efficient, as well as valiant and trusted, aid. On the 8th of Oct., Lee directed Stuart to make a reconnaissance across the Potomac, with portions of several mounted brig-

ades (some 600 in number), with four guns. The crossing was effected above Williamsport, whence the column moved swiftly through Maryland, passing by the right of McClellan, and even entered Pennsylvania as far as Chambersburg. Here, and *en route*, Stuart picked up fresh horses for his troopers, destroyed a considerable amount of Federal stores and public property, and returned by McClellan's left flank, ascertaining his position and strength, and all within so brief a time as to surprise and elude the Northern army he had circled round, besides sending a thrill of fear, by his boldness and celerity of movement, into the bosoms of the authorities at Washington. The results of the reconnaissance were, as usual, of high value to Lee ; while the dashing raid roused the Federal Government to renewed urgency in insisting upon their tardy, deliberately moving Commander-in-chief making a further demonstration against Richmond and the Confederate line interposed to protect it. Towards the close of October found McClellan once more crossing the Potomac, this time near Berlin, Va., below Harper's Ferry, which before this had been reoccupied by a Northern garrison, followed by a leisurely advance in the direction of Warrenton and the line of the Upper Rappahannock. To meet the movement,

Lee directed Longstreet to hasten with his command across the Blue Ridge Mountain, which he promptly did, taking up a position under Lee's eye at Culpeper Court House.

At this juncture, McClellan, who, by his procrastinations, had lost the confidence of his Washington superiors, was relieved of his command, which was now given to General Ambrose E. Burnside, an officer who had much less of the genius for fighting than had McClellan, whom, moreover, the Northern army loved, in spite of his over-cautiousness and want of success. Burnside's plan of campaign had for its objective Richmond, though he first sought to concentrate his various divisions, under Sumner, Hooker, and Franklin, on the Rappahannock, opposite Fredericksburg. On learning this, Lee tactically met the movement by ordering Longstreet to move thither, to confront Burnside; while, a little later, he brought on the scene the redoubtable Jackson, who by this time was at Orange Court House, to unite with Longstreet at Fredericksburg. Here, on the Stafford Heights, overlooking the town and the Rappahannock's waters, the Union army, 116,000 strong, was massed towards the close of November, the Federal artillery being in a position to sweep the two miles plain intervening between the river

and the bluffs of the Spottsylvania Hills, where were marshalled "Lee's Legions," now recruited to a total strength of about 78,000. A couple of weeks were consumed by the Federals in getting ready their pontoons and bridge-erecting construction to enable them to cross the river, which they contrived to do in large force on the day and night of December 12th. On the morning of the 13th, the battle began by a vigorous attack of French's division against the Confederate right, 30,000 strong, under Jackson, at Hamilton's Crossing, an onslaught which was finally repulsed ; while, on the Federal right, the forces under Sumner and Hooker moved out of Fredericksburg Town and attempted to storm the Confederate position on Marye's Hill, but had first to cross the intervening plain, where the advancing Northern forces were successively withered by the enfilading fire of the Confederate artillery and sharpshooters. In spite of this destruction, fresh troops were again and again brought forward to the assault, but with the same result—practical annihilation—until nightfall brought the bloody conflict to a close. Fortunately for his command, Burnside wisely desisted in his design of renewing the battle, and two days later he recrossed the Rappahannock with his dispirited troops, having

suffered a loss of over 12,600 in killed, wounded, and missing. The Confederate loss in the battle was close upon 5,400, but the rejoicings of "the boys in gray" were great at the victory. After "the horror of Fredericksburg," the two armies spent the next four (winter) months in quiet on either side of the Rappahannock, though towards the middle of January (1863) the rash Burnside was dismissed and the chief command of the Army of the Potomac was given to "Fighting Joe"—General J. E. Hooker.

The year we now enter upon saw the promulgation (Jan. 1, 1863) of the far-seeing and humane Edict of Emancipation, which marked the Lincoln Administration's executive at this period, and put slavery forever under legal and moral ban in the States and Territories of the Union. Emancipation, it is true, was resorted to as "a war measure" in the thick of the deadly contest between the two sections of the riven Nation; but with Lincoln, long before the era of the decree and the amendment to the Constitution which abolished slavery forever from the country, the traffic, as we have elsewhere observed, had always been held in abhorrence, and deep in his mind had lain the thought of abolishing it or seeing it abolished. The immediate effect of the

measure, as we know, was to drive the South well-nigh to the verge of desperation ; while at the North it was only partially accepted, and for a time it aroused even bitter animadversion. Happily, however, a change of sentiment came ere long, when it was seen what freedom meant to the slave, and how telling were the consequences of emancipation in the issues of the war. The act, almost entirely, was Lincoln's own, and its consummation did surpassing honor to him, as well as to his Administration, and, at large, to the people who endorsed and applauded it.

Before resuming the narration of the incidents connected with the operations of the two hostile armies on the Rappahannock, let us glance for a little at the operations in the West (chiefly Federal successes), in the latter half of the past year. These Western operations, it is true, had nothing to do with General Lee, or he with them ; but they form part of the great internecine struggle of the time, and, hence, should find some chronicle, however brief, of their happenings in this historical Memoir. In our earlier notice of the operations in the Mississippi region, we indicated the motive of Federal exploitation on the great highway, as one inspired not only by the purpose of getting possession of the river and

the important towns on its banks, but also by the intent of cutting the Confederacy in twain, and so limiting the area of sympathy with, if not of actual aid in, Secession. The dual purpose was what instigated the Federal attack on Island No. X., in the Mississippi, and the movements of General Grant, after capturing Forts Henry and Donelson, up the Tennessee River in the direction of Corinth. Of the operations in the region, the most notable was the battle of Shiloh or Pittsburg Landing (April 6, 1862), when Grant was driven back by the Confederate general, who lost his life in the engagement, Albert Sidney Johnston, and but for the timely arrival of Buell and his command would have been routed by the Confederate leader, Beauregard, who, later on, fell back upon Corinth and after a siege evacuated it (May 30). Other Confederate operations in the West include those of General Bragg, who took A. S. Johnston's command, and with 35,000 men proceeded by rail to Mobile, thence northward, where he seized Chattanooga, and with Kirby Smith invaded Kentucky. Here Bragg sought to head off Buell in a race to Louisville, Ky., but on October 8th he was defeated at Perryville, and fell back on Chattanooga. Hither Buell, for some reason, did

not pursue Bragg, but went into camp at Nashville, on the Cumberland River. Emboldened by Buell's failure to follow him, Bragg now set out for Nashville, advancing northward as far as Murfreesboro, where he encountered the Federal forces under Rosecrans on their way south to Chattanooga. Here, at Stone River, on the last day of the year, 1862, a serious battle was fought, as bloody in its issue as were those of Shiloh and Antietam. The engagement opened badly for the Northerners, two of whose divisions were routed on the right, by Rosecrans's tactical neglect in placing them in a weak position, which threw the Union army on the defensive. It, however, was saved by the brilliant charges of Sheridan and Thomas, and the battle ended in "a draw," after 23,000 men on either side had been put *hors de combat*. Two days' later, when Rosecrans advanced upon "the Rebs," Bragg, after a brief resistance, retired once more upon Chattanooga. Meanwhile, the Southern commanders Price and Van Dorn, who had been operating in the region, in the hope of driving Grant down the Tennessee River, sought to execute their assigned parts of the Confederate campaign, gave battle to the Union armies at Iuka (Sept. 19), and at Corinth (Oct. 3 and 4). In both battles, the

Southern forces were repulsed (at Corinth, disastrously so), by the portion of Grant's army under Rosecrans, though the fightings prevented for a time the sending of reinforcements to Buell. The latter, soon after this, was relieved of his command, and was replaced by General Rosecrans.

But it is time to return to the region of the Rappahannock, where we left the Union and the Confederate armies in winter quarters during a severe and inclement season. So intensely cold was it that some of the Federal pickets were frozen to death at their posts; while the Southerners suffered greatly from want of adequate provisions and the warm clothing and comfortable footwear which the Confederate Commissary- and Quartermaster-Generals unfeelingly failed to provide. The morale of "the rebel" army was nevertheless maintained, thanks to General Lee's constant and unwearied efforts in its behalf, and his ready, considerate sharing in the privations of his men. Meanwhile, Burnside was restlessly anxious to do something to advance his own modest attainments and reputation in the chief Northern command. By the 19th of January (1863), he had planned to cross the Rappahannock, in force, at Bank's Ford, some six miles above Fred-

ericksburg, to assail the Confederate army and drive it from the strong position it held near by, and, if possible, cut off Lee's communications with Richinond. The carrying out of this design was entrusted to the divisions of Hooker and Franklin, aided by Sigel's corps, which was left to guard the Federal camp and its approaches, while Couch's corps was to make a feint in another direction, down the river, all being protected by strong batteries of Northern artillery. The whole movement, however, miscarried, in consequence of a series of violent rainstorms coming on just as the project was about to be launched, which made havoc of the roads, besides swelling the river to unusual proportions. The failure of the expedition was naturally disconcerting to Burnside, who, in a fit of rage and jealousy, sought to dismiss a number of his generals, but this was promptly negatived at Washington, when Burnside had no alternative left him but to resign, which he at once did, and was replaced in the chief command, as we have already indicated, by General Hooker.

CHAPTER X.

THE CHANCELLORSVILLE CAMPAIGN AND BATTLE.

THE remainder of the winter Lee occupied in preparing for the Spring campaign, of 1863, and in further efforts to protect his army from the early anticipated attack of the enemy under its new commander-in-chief. He still had to importune the Richmond War Office not only for more regular and adequate supplies for his men, but also for more artillery and better ammunition, as well as for additional troops, for by this time his army had been weakened by the withdrawal of Long-street's division, in February 1863, which had been sent south of the James River, near Suffolk, to check a threatened demonstration of the enemy in that section, as well as to collect and forward supplies. Lee had also recently suffered heavily in the loss from death or wounds on the field of many of his capable general officers; while increased vigilance was required of him and his staff, now that greater activity in the enemy's ranks began to show itself under the Hooker

régime. He was furthermore at a decided disadvantage in having now opposed to him a largely-strengthened and freshly-recruited army, over 133,000 strong, in fine fighting condition, including a greatly increased cavalry equipment (of 12,000 troopers), and 400 pieces of artillery. This large force gave the Union command a numerical superiority over Lee's entire army of almost 80,000 men. Unfortunately for the North, with all the advantages it had in possessing a force in the field twice the size of Lee's, and all the resources of a mighty nation behind it, Hooker's army was to suffer at Chancellorsville a most disastrous and humiliating defeat ; while its leader was to prove himself as great a failure as any of his many predecessors.

Hooker was early informed that Longstreet's command had been detached from Lee's strength and despatched to the James River, and this fact made the Union general confident of success, and even boastful. He even went so far as to affirm that "certain destruction" awaited Lee, and that "the Rebel army is now the legitimate property of the Army of the Potomac!" The Southern leader, on the contrary, was more modest and tactful (flippant he could never be), as well as more reverential, but hopeful ; while,

as usual, he took pains personally to see over every defensive site in the region, and omitted no precaution to ensure the safety and wellbeing of his men, and, if Heaven willed it, the triumph of his command. His intuition, coupled with his experience as a great military tactician, moreover, enabled Lee at once to divine Hooker's probable plan of attack, despite the Northern commander's successive feints, in the hope of misleading him or throwing him off the true scent. Nor, aside from this, was he lacking in the precautions usually taken by the leader of an army when about to go into action, in availing himself of all that can be learned from watchful outpost commanders, and, by utilizing to the full his intelligent scouting and reconnaissance force. Hence, when the middle of March came (a month even before the battle of Chancellorsville occurred), Lee was able to make such disposition of his army as sound generalship suggested, and was also in a position to direct his right arm, General Stuart, the Confederate cavalry watchdog, to look to the crossings of the Upper Rappahannock, and, with the assistance of Fitzhugh Lee's brigade, checkmate the passage of a Federal column, under General Averill at Kelly's Ford, some 25 miles above Fredericksburg. On

this occasion, the watchfulness was rewarded, for though Averill forced the passage of the river and captured the picket-guard, his cavalry contingent was met by that of Fitzhugh Lee, and, after a hot engagement of many hours' duration, was driven back, having suffered a serious loss. The encounter at Kelly's Ford is spoken of as "the best cavalry fight in the War," and in it the first blood was spilled on both sides in the Chancellorsville campaign, the Southerners losing on their side the gallant young Pelham, Stuart's chief of horse artillery, who was known as the pride of Alabama for his superb courage and dash.

Over a month later, or, more precisely, on the closing days of April (1863), when the Spring floods had somewhat abated, Hooker's army began to cross the Rappahannock in force, with the intent of bagging, as it thought, the entire Army of Northern Virginia. The movement was a menacing one to Lee, for its design was not only to turn the Confederate left flank and get in its rear, by way of the fords on the Upper Rappahannock, or rather the Rapidan River; but to make a strong demonstration, by way of the United States Ford, in front of the bend in the Rappahannock, near the Mine Run Road, thence to take up

a position around Chancellorsville ; while Sedgwick, with a large force, was to cross by way of Bank's Ford, or lower down the river, and concentrate between the latter and the plain of Fredericksburg. Besides these various environing masses of Union soldiery, Hooker had ordered his chief cavalry commander, Stoneman, to make a wide detour, as Fitzhugh Lee relates, "well around the Southern left and rear, throw 10,000 sabres between Lee and Richmond, breaking up his communications, stopping his supplies, and be in a position to obstruct the Confederate retreat until Hooker could deliver a final blow." Though Hooker's braggadocio little affected Lee, Stoneman, however, succeeded in reaching Culpeper, in a movement against Gordonsville ; but in the region he had the ever-alert Stuart to deal with, in spite of the flanking column which Hooker had intervened between Lee and his Confederate cavalry. Stuart was, nevertheless, directed to be watchful of all movements, and especially to keep an eye on, and seek to resist, the advance of a Federal column which was known to be crossing the Rapidan at the Germanna Ford. Stuart, on his part, while maintaining a hot skirmishing fire on the vanguard of the Germanna column, ordered W. H. P. Lee with a couple of regi-

ments to oppose Stoneman's operations at Gordonsville, and himself joined Lee, on the 30th of April, after cutting his way through the Federal cavalry and riding on by way of Ford's Tavern. Hooker's army had meantime massed itself at Chancellorsville, 50,000 strong, and got his 12,000 horse in rear of Lee, threatening the latter's communications. On Lee's right, Sedgwick's command of 40,000, had, moreover, crossed the Rappahannock below Fredericksburg and menaced the Confederate right wing. Here, however, Early's division of Jackson's command, with the corps of Anderson and McLaws, looked after Sedgwick; while they also prepared to co-operate against Hooker, who, with Sykes's, Sickles', and Slocum's brigades had taken up a fortified position extending between the Plank Road and the Old Turnpike Road, surrounded by a dense forest, with a tangled mass of under-growth. At this time, Hooker had quite 75,000 men in the vicinity of Chancellorsville; but both Lee and Jackson were now fast concerting a movement to surprise "the Feds," which was presently executed by "Stonewall," with his accustomed vigor and daring. This was a movement across Hooker's front to get upon his right flank, and there fall on Howard's 11th Federal corps; while Lee was to mask the

operation by a fierce onslaught on Hooker's center and left. Jackson's furtive march was, however, discovered by the Union general, Sickles, as it filed past the Wellford furnace, but before it could be seen what design "Stonewall" had in making it. The cry was at once mistakenly raised by the Federal army, that Lee's entire command was attempting a retreat towards Richmond. Taking advantage of the false inference and the Federal pursuit of Jackson, Lee directed Anderson's guns to face about and open fire upon Sickles and prepared an onslaught upon Hooker's right; while the latter's center went astray in the wilderness in its effort to pursue Jackson, the purpose of whose movement the Federal army had entirely misconceived.

The day before Jackson made his move upon Hooker's left (May 2), a spirited dash was made by Hooker to secure and occupy an elevated plateau, held at this time by a weak corps under the Confederate general, Anderson, which commanded the Federal position at Chancellorsville. This ridge Lee was most anxious to retain, but it was captured by a portion of Hooker's army. Just as it was taken from Anderson's command, Jackson arrived with portions of several brigades, and, seeing the Confederate commander's plight

in having to abandon it, he daringly pressed forward and retook it ; while Hooker, now aware that Lee's army was not in retreat, recalled his force and fell back upon his main position around Chancellorsville, where he rapidly set to work to fortify himself. Here, on his right and left, the Confederates partly enveloped him ; while Sedgwick, off at Fredericksburg, had Early's divisions to look after him, in front of the city, and between it and the bend of the Rappahannock at Bank's Ford. On May 2nd, Lee now began to maneuver with a varied play of attack upon Hooker's center, to draw his attention from Jackson's movement directed against the Federal left, and especially upon Howard's 11th corps, which formerly had been Sigel's. It was six o'clock in the evening when the first shots were fired on Hooker's left flank, and, two hours later, Jackson had succeeded in driving the 11th corps back upon the 12th, which formed the center of Hooker's position.

The incidents of this achievement of Jackson are of so thrilling a character, and, unhappily, so calamitous in their consequences personally to the redoubtable "Stonewall," as well as to the Southern cause in general, that we are here tempted to give a fuller record of them from a contemporary narrative, that of Mr. James D.

McCabe, jr., in his interesting work on the "Life and Campaigns of General Robert E. Lee." "General Jackson," writes Mr. McCabe, "led his troops in person. Those who saw him declare that he seemed carried away by the excitement of the moment. He leaned forward on his horse, extending his arm far in front, as though he wished to push the men forward, and his voice was heard exclaiming: 'Press forward! press forward!' every few minutes during the entire attack. When not thus mastered by the ardor of battle, his right hand was raised aloft with that gesture now familiar to his men, as though he were praying to the God of battles for victory. . . .

"By eight o'clock the advance had been pressed to within half a mile of Hooker's headquarters, when, in the darkness, the Southern line became entangled in the heavy *abatis* of felled trees with which Hooker had fringed the works around Chancellorsville. Rodes' and Colston's men became mingled in the greatest confusion, so that it was impossible for either officer to distinguish his command. To remedy this the troops were halted, Rodes was directed to fall back and reform his men, and A. P. Hill's division was placed in front in the room of the troops thus withdrawn. As the line halted, the Federal batteries opened

from the cleared ground around Chancellorsville, which about this time presented a scene of the wildest confusion.

"The panic-stricken soldiers of the 11th corps rushed back upon their center as Jackson's infantry swept down them. As the terror spread, men, horses, cannon, wagons, and ambulances became mingled in one frightful mass, which sped across the clearing around Chancellorsville with the force of a whirlwind—all aiming straight for the Rappahannock. Officers tried in vain, by threats, entreaties and blows, to stay the fugitives. They were deaf to everything. For a moment it seemed that the career of Hooker's army was ended, but just at this time the Southern advance was checked by the accident I have mentioned. But for this, Jackson would have slept that night at Chancellorsville, and his valuable life would have been spared to the country.

"Hooker was quick to take advantage of the pause. Opening with every gun he could collect at the moment, twenty-two in all, upon the woods held by the Confederates, he endeavored to form his troops to resist the attack. Leading his old division forward in person, he became for the moment once more the impetuous soldier that had won such admiration even from his enemies. He

posted this division at the edge of the clearing, directly in Jackson's front, and awaited a renewal of the attack. Fresh artillery was brought up, and fifty pieces were soon sweeping the woods with an iron hail.

"It was ten o'clock, and the moon had risen, lighting up the woods with a ghostly glimmer which paled before the fierce glare of the cannonade. Late as it was, Jackson determined to renew the attack and get possession of the road to the United States Ford. As his troops were forming for the assault, he became so anxious to ascertain the exact state of affairs in his front, that he rode forward to reconnoiter, giving orders to his men not to fire, unless cavalry approached from the direction of the enemy. He was accompanied by two of his staff, about half a dozen couriers, and two men of the signal corps.

"Unfortunately, although the enemy were scarcely more than two hundred yards distant, no pickets had been established, and General Jackson found himself considerably beyond his lines, with nothing between him and the enemy. Had this important duty been performed, the sad results of this reconnaissance would have been avoided.

"As he finished his inspection, General Jack-

son directed one of his staff to go back and order General A. P. Hill to advance. As he rode back to his lines, without giving any warning to his men, who had been ordered to look out for Federal cavalry, he was fired upon by a brigade of his own troops, and severely wounded, twice in the left arm, and once in the right hand. His whole escort, with the exception of two persons, were killed, wounded, or dismounted.

"The scene which ensued was agonizing beyond description. General Jackson was assisted from his horse by the survivors of the fatal volley, almost too weak from loss of blood to stand, and tenderly laid in the shelter of the trees by the roadside. A messenger was dispatched for a surgeon and an ambulance, but before these arrived General Hill, who had also been exposed to the fire, came up, having succeeded in checking it. He was made acquainted with the calamity that had befallen the army, and instructed to assume the command of the corps. In a few minutes General Hill repaired to his post, and shortly afterwards it was reported that the enemy were advancing, and were within only one hundred yards of the spot where the wounded General lay. An effort was now made to assist him back to his lines, and, supported by two of his

officers, one of whom had just come up, he walked slowly back, under a fearful fire of artillery, which was suddenly opened from the enemy's batteries. On the way he passed his troops, who were in motion to check the advance of the enemy, and every effort was made to prevent the men from learning who he was. His escort of officers, however, excited the curiosity of the troops, who repeatedly asked who was wounded. The answer was, invariably, a Confederate officer, but one of his old veterans recognized him, as he walked bareheaded in the moonlight, and, with a cry of anguish, exclaimed : 'Great God ; that is General Jackson !'

"During this time Jackson had not been able to drag himself twenty steps. He was so exhausted that his officers procured a litter for him, but had not gone far before their path was swept by a shower of grape and canister from the Federal batteries. One of the litter-bearers was shot through both arms, and the litter was placed on the ground. For several minutes the firing was terrific, forcing the entire party to throw themselves down on the ground for safety. As soon as the fire of canister veered around, another effort was made to convey the General to a place of safety, and at last he was placed in an am-

bulance and conveyed to Melzi Chancellor's house, where he received surgical attention.

"The firing to which General Jackson had been exposed did great execution in the Southern ranks, wounding, among others, General A. P. Hill, who was compelled to relinquish the command of the corps to General Stuart, who was called away from his cavalry for this purpose. Nothing further occurred during the night, which was passed by both armies in preparing for a renewal of the battle the next day."

Lee was apprised of Jackson's victory and of the severe wounds he had received at the same instant, and his comment on both was to the effect that "any victory is a dear one that deprives us of the services of Jackson, even for a short time." Writing personally to his able and loved lieutenant, the Southern commander-in-chief congratulates him on the skill and energy that had won another triumph for the army and their common country. On the occasion, he feelingly adds that, "could I have directed events, I should have chosen, for the good of the country, to have been disabled in your stead." Jackson's wounds, unhappily as it turned out, were so grievous that his left arm had to be amputated, and the operation, though borne with his accustomed hardihood,

as well as with his wonted Christian resignation, presently proved fatal, his noble life ending a week later, on the afternoon of Sunday, May the 10th. News of Jackson's death brought woe and lamentation to all ranks of the Confederate army, but no one felt the sorrowful tidings more keenly than did his closest friend and affectionate commander-in-chief, R. E. Lee, who best knew not only the high military genius of his comrade-in-arms, but his great moral worth. Sore, indeed, was the blow to him, for he knew there was no one that could replace Jackson, as, alas ! he was soon ruefully to find on the next great battlefield of the war—that of Gettysburg.

Aroused to more than his usual combativeness by what had happened to Jackson, Lee was early astir on the morning of May 3rd, with the purpose of renewing the attack on Hooker's lines around Chancellorsville. The Federal commander had succeeded during the night in restoring his command to some condition of order and fighting strength, and thus was able to resist Lee's furious attack on him for some hours ; but by ten o'clock the Federals once more became restive and uneasy at the repeated Confederate onslaught, and part of them began to yield and finally to retreat along the road leading towards the Rappahannock and

the United States ford across it. Meanwhile, conflict broke out on another section of the field, that around Early's command in front of Fredericksburg, which was hemming in Sedgwick's Federal divisions in that quarter. Hooker, in his plight, had instructed his subordinate to attack and press Early vigorously and then come to his assistance at Chancellorsville. This Sedgwick was able to do, in consequence of Early's command having been weakened on the previous day by the withdrawal from him of McLaws' and Anderson's corps. Early was attacked in force on Marye's Height, and compelled to fall back, and Lee, hearing of this, ordered Wilcox, who was at Bank's Ford, watching the crossings of the Rappahannock, to intercept and retard Sedgwick's advance until he could send McLaws and Anderson to his assistance. This was done, and the Federal advance upon Chancellorsville was stayed and in time repulsed. On the following day (May 4), the battle was renewed and hotly fought all day, finally going against Sedgwick, who saved himself and his command by flight across the Rappahannock over night. On the 5th, the *coup de grace* was now about to be given to the force it was believed Hooker still had behind his defenses at Chancellorsville; but when Lee moved to

attack him it was discovered that the enemy had fled, under cover of a dark and stormy night, crossing the Rappahannock at the United States Ford, and thus leaving the hard-won field in the possession of the Confederates. The Federal casualties at Chancellorsville, in killed, wounded, and captured, amounted to 17,197 ; while the entire Confederate loss was some four thousand less. The latter's loss, however, consisted of the flower of Lee's fast-depleting army, including General Paxton, of the "Stonewall" brigade, and its great chieftain, the valiant Christian soldier, General T. J. Jackson. The enemy had left on the field, besides his many dead, 20,000 stand of arms, 30,000 knapsacks, together with over a dozen heavy guns, which became welcome Southern spoil.

CHAPTER XI.

THE SECOND INVASION OF THE NORTH, AND THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG (JULY 1-3, 1863).

To the South, several objects were to be gained by the crossing of the Potomac and once more assuming the offensive by the Army of Northern Virginia. Its late successes, in spite of shrunken ranks, warranted a new and aggressive movement, which would relieve Northern Virginia of the presence of the enemy, always within striking distance of Richmond ; while it would enable it to ease the pressure just then of the Northern forces upon Confederate arms in the West ; and at the same time obtain for Lee's army the greatly needed supplies for his men and horses, which it was thought could be gathered plentifully by a spirited and menacing raid as far North as Pennsylvania. The feeling of dejection at the North at the seeming impossibility of finding a Union general capable of beating Lee on the field favored the projected renewed invasion, especially as Hooker's army was, besides being

worsted, greatly depleted by recent casualties and by desertions from its ranks ; while Lee's, on the other hand, after the period of rest it had had, was in fine fettle for a raid across the Potomac, with the prospect before it of unlimited loot in the North, and the consciousness of striking terror throughout the region the army was likely to invade. There was, of course, no little risk involved in Lee's transferring hostilities to Northern regions ; and there was at first some difficulty in obtaining the consent of the Confederate Government to the proposal, as, just then, the Richmond authorities wanted part of Lee's army to aid the contest going on in Tennessee, as well as to afford succor to Vicksburg, at the period being besieged by General Grant. Lee, however, as we have seen, was not usually deterred by risks to be run, and, as a matter of sound tactics, was given to the striking of decisive blows, when his judgment suggested them ; hence, he had his way, and at once prepared his army for the Northern incursion. Latent in his mind, probably at this time, was also the hope that, by some further and signal victory, he might terminate the struggle, with its direful tale of bloodshed, and dictate in the North a treaty which would end the war, and give both sections of the country peace,

if not unity. Some such idea in Lee's mind was at this period not improbable, especially as he knew that importunate voices were now being heard in the North calling for an end to the conflict, on the basis of separation. Lee was, moreover, confirmed in his purpose of making a new foray in the North by the improved strength and enthusiasm of his army, which was now augmented not only by the return of Longstreet's command from Suffolk, but also by the return to the ranks of the recovered wounded who had been on temporary furlough, with other absentees, as well as by some fresh levies forwarded from the Confederate capital.

Lee's present army was now about 68,000 strong, of which close upon 10,000 consisted of cavalry and artillery. The whole force he divided anew into three corps, of three divisions each, viz., those under Longstreet, Ewell (who succeeded to the command of the late General Jackson's corps), and A. P. Hill ; while the cavalry was commanded, as before, by General Stuart, and the artillery (composed of 200 guns) by General Pendleton. On June 3rd, a month after the battle of Chancellorsville, the Northern movement began by the despatch of General Longstreet to Culpeper, followed by Ewell ; while Hill was for

the time left in front of Fredericksburg to keep watch on Hooker; and prevent any advance upon Richmond, as well as to conceal from Hooker Lee's departure. At Culpeper, on June 9th, Lee reports to his Government at Richmond that a portion of Hooker's army, including a large force of cavalry and artillery, had early that morning crossed the Rappahannock on a reconnaissance expedition, after previously making a demonstration against Hill on the Rapidan. The object of the expedition, which crossed the river at Kelly's and Beverley's Fords, east of the Culpeper Court House, was manifestly to get on General Stuart's track, and if possible learn of the designs of his column in the region and of his later advance upon Brandy Station. At this time, Lee's advance northward had not fully transpired, and Stuart's object in being where he was was to mask from Hooker Lee's movement in the direction of Maryland, and at the same time to guard the Southern army's flank in its march northward.

From the two fords, came the Federal columns under Buford and Gregg, forcing back the Confederate pickets, and delivering a determined attack. This was at first resisted by the Southern brigade under General Jones, but on being heavily pressed Stuart sent back W. H. F. Lee, Wade

Hampton, and Robertson, with their several brigades, to withstand the onslaught, which now developed into almost the proportions of a battle, and lasted throughout the day. Finally, the Northerners were repulsed at all points and compelled to recross the river, leaving in the Confederate hands, besides their dead on the field, about 500 prisoners, with three pieces of artillery and several regimental colors. In the day's encounter near Brandy Station, said to have been one of the stiffest cavalry contests of the whole war, Lee's second son, Brigadier-General W. H. F. Lee, was wounded. Of this mishap to a member of his family, following soon after the death of a loved daughter, Anne, General Lee wrote to his wife two days afterwards (June 11th) : "My supplications continue to ascend for you, my children, and my country. When I last wrote I did not suppose that Fitzhugh (his son) would so soon be sent to the rear disabled, and I hope it will be but for a short time. I saw him the night after the battle—indeed, met him on the field as they were bringing him from the front. He is young and healthy, and I trust will soon be up again. He seemed to be more concerned about his brave men and officers who had fallen in the battle than about himself."

On the following day (June 10th), Lee sent Ewell northward from Culpeper into the Shenandoah Valley, with the design of reaching Winchester, then held by 6,000 Federal troops under General Milroy, with a small force occupying Martinsburg. At Winchester, which the Federals had strongly fortified, Ewell directed Rodes's division to move upon Martinsburg, capture the Union garrison, and dispose of his force so as cut off the enemy's retreat in falling back from Winchester to the Potomac. Ewell then prepared to assault Milroy, having invested the town on the 13th, and having with him the divisions of Johnson and Early. The next day, the latter, after a furious cannonade, stormed Milroy's defenses, carried them, and made prisoners of the greater part of the garrison. The remainder, with Milroy, fled from Winchester, during the night, but the majority of the Federal command fell into Johnson's hands and were captured, though Milroy, with a small following, eluding the Southern leader, escaped to Harper's Ferry. Berryville and Martinsburg were also surprised and their garrison taken, while the Valley was throughout freed from the enemy. The spoils of the two days' hard-won victories included 4,000 prisoners captured, 29 pieces of artillery, 270 wagons and

ambulances taken, and a mass of various stores. News of the mishap reached Hooker speedily at Fredericksburg and opened his eyes as to the character and design of Lee's operations in the North. He therefore gave his army orders to quit the Rappahannock and move in the direction of Manassas, meantime confining his attention to the Blue Ridge mountains and the Southern movement in that quarter, and taking care to keep his army between the line of the Confederate advance and Washington. When Hooker moved northward, Hill, in compliance with Lee's orders, took the road to the Shenandoah Valley, thence to Winchester ; while Ewell directed the steps of his command towards Pennsylvania, Lee following him at supporting distance. As the advance northward was made, Lee bore eastward in the direction of Washington, now in alarm over this new Confederate foray ; but Hooker by this time had come north and interposed a barrier between the capital and the Confederate columns, on the east side of the Bull Run Range. Lee was thus balked in making any demonstration against the Federal seat of government, though his presence in the region brought on a series of conflicts between Stuart's command and the Union cavalry.

Leaving Stuart to guard the passes of the Blue

Ridge, Lee pressed on with Longstreet's and Hill's corps to Chambersburg, Pa., already occupied by Ewell, who now advanced to Carlisle and York, and even threatened Harrisburg. At this juncture, Hooker now sought to move against Lee's rear with Slocum's command, and to do so effectively he asked permission from Halleck at Washington to take the garrison of Harper's Ferry (10,000 strong) to assist him in the operation. This Halleck, however, refused to allow, and Hooker warmly remonstrated with the Commander-in-chief, telling him that, if he was not permitted to conduct the campaign in his own way, he preferred to resign the command of the Army of the Potomac. Thus matters were brought to a deadlock, the way out of which was speedily taken by relieving Hooker of his post and replacing him by Major-General G. G. Meade, of the Federal Fifth corps, who now took the chief command (June 28, 1863).

Meade, though not an officer of great brilliance, was an able and sagacious commander, and had seen a good deal of service. Though called upon suddenly to assume the chief Federal command, and knowing little of Hooker's plan of campaign, he at once set himself to rally and concentrate the scattered Union forces in Mary-

land and Pennsylvania, with the design of giving Lee battle and cutting off his retreat southward. Up to this time, Lee had accomplished not a little in gathering supplies in the enemy's country, and in spreading alarm throughout the North by his invasion of Pennsylvania. He was, however, greatly handicapped by a lack of cavalry, especially for scouting purposes, and in enabling him to learn of the whereabouts and projected movements of the Federal army. He, nevertheless, was aware that his rear communications were in serious danger, and the better to protect them and strengthen himself for anticipated attack, he directed Longstreet and Hill to move from Chambersburg to Gettysburg, while he recalled Ewell from York and Carlisle to the same rallying point.

The great historic battle of Gettysburg was fought through its three entire days' course (July 1-3, 1863) by detached masses of the two contending armies, as they successively came upon the now renowned field, on which was at length grouped close upon 150,000 men, about equally divided between the Union and the Confederate forces. The town lies in the valley of the Cumberland, in one of the southern counties of Pennsylvania, 36 miles southwest of Harrisburg, the

State capital. Through the valley run roads leading to the different towns of the adjoining counties, most of them centering in Gettysburg. To the west of the town is situate Seminary Ridge, three miles in length, on which stands a theological school; while southward is a series of ridges and hills, intersected by ravines and gullies. "The point of these hills farthest west is a little to the north of the general trend, and, with its connecting ridges, forms a curve or outward bend. Joining this curved part is a long line of hills, which end in two prominences, and finally in open country. The extreme western point of the curve is known as Culp's Hill, the two prominences as Little and Big Round Top, and the long connecting ridge as Cemetery Hill, the local burial-ground. Between Little Round Top and Cemetery Hill, filling a gap in the long line, is a ridge, which stands out in the valley, and is known as Peach Orchard. Near Big Round Top is Devil's Den, a small knoll, and Rock Creek. These hills and ridges are wooded, and in some portions are very steep and rocky."

The closing day of June found the Confederate forces pressing through Cashtown, on the road from Chambersburg to Gettysburg, Hill having sent the divisions of Heth and Pender on in

advance to ascertain Meade's whereabouts. Stuart at this time, to whom the reconnaissance duty would doubtless have been assigned, was off at Carlisle, and, besides having Kilpatrick's squadrons to fight, had Meade's army, for most of his return march, between him and Lee: Longstreet was still west of the South Mountain at Greenwood, with Pickett guarding the supply trains at Chambersburg. Of Ewell's corps, Johnson's division was near Longstreet; the divisions of Rodes and Early were in the vicinity of Heidlersberg, though now on the way from the Susquehanna to Cashtown. Early in the morning of the 1st of July, Heth and Pender, of Hill's corps, on their approach to Gettysburg, found themselves confronted by Buford's command, with a strong Federal contingent, at Willoughby Run, a force which the Confederates drove back, the noise of the firing bringing both Hill and Ewell on the field, when battle between the two armies was precipitated near McPherson's Ridge, on the Cashtown or Chambersburg road, just west of Gettysburg. To Buford's assistance, after the opening cavalry skirmish, came up the Federal First corps under Reynolds, and the Second corps under Howard. Reynolds posted his men along the Seminary Ridge, from which

he saw the hot engagement between Heth and Buford, and at once rushed down the slope with his command to take part in it. In the action that ensued, and which for a time bore heavily against the Confederates, Reynolds was himself unhappily slain ; while Pender, now taking part in the fray, was able to aid Heth in holding the First corps at bay. By noon, the Federal Eleventh corps came up, under Howard, who took command, now that Reynolds had fallen ; while Ewell appeared on the field from Heidlersburg, and with Rodes, Early, and Hill, they together fell upon Howard's front and flank, and, by four o'clock in the afternoon, they forced his shattered brigades through Gettysburg back upon the Union batteries on Cemetery Hill. As Hill bore heavily down upon the retreating Federals, several thousands of them were taken prisoners, and other masses of them had fallen before the attack of cold steel. Lee at this juncture came up, and on looking over the scene he at once sent an order to Ewell to press on after the broken Federals and secure the hill, if possible. The elevation was found, however, practically unsailable, with the present Confederate force at Ewell's disposal, and the Federal guns now belching from it. Ewell, therefore, wisely deferred

the assault, especially as new arrivals of Federal troops were coming into Gettysburg, including Hancock's and Slocum's corps, which at once occupied Culp's Hill, as well as part of the Cemetery Ridge. The day's fighting ended amid Confederate exultation, and with a conference of Lee and his generals as to the plan of attack on the morrow. The losses of the day on both sides were heavy.

The early part of the second day's fighting at Gettysburg was occupied in placing in advantageous positions the contingents of both armies that had arrived during the night, with a redisposition of part of those that had been engaged on the previous day. Of the arrivals on the Union side were the Second, Third, Fifth, and Twelfth corps, commanded respectively by Hancock, Sickles, Sykes, and Slocum ; while later on in the day came the Sixth corps, under Sedgwick. On the Confederate side, Stuart's cavalry corps had not yet arrived, nor did he reach the field until the afternoon of the following day. Longstreet, however, had early joined Lee, though portions of his command, those under Hood, Kershaw, and McLawns, had not as yet come up. Lee was anxious for their arrival, and for the coming of Anderson's division of Hill's corps, as he wished Longstreet to

open the day's operations with an attack on the Federal lines along the Emmitsburg road. To this design of the Confederate commander-in-chief, Longstreet entered a protest, as the latter preferred to attack Meade first on the left. This lack of acquiescence lost Lee most part of the day, when it was important to attack the enemy before they had taken up their assigned positions and strengthened their lines of defense. Longstreet's attitude was naturally embarrassing to Lee, and the latter doubtless wished that morning to have had on the field his old war-horse, the redoubtable and eager Jackson, who, with his unshaken confidence in his chief and promptitude in obeying orders, would have readily thrown his command against the enemy, and more than probably have disastrously routed them, and so obviated the third day's fighting. As it turned out, the Confederate chances of success in the day's operations were lost by Longstreet's reluctance to attack as Lee had directed ; and ere long the result proved that Lee was right, for the Federal column (the Fifth Corps), on arriving and taking up ground, at once seized Little Round Top, the key of the day's position, and occupied it, reinforced later in the day, as the struggle around it and for its possession developed.

The conflict of opinion between the Confederate commander-in-chief and his senior general on the field produced for a time an unfortunate deadlock. It also delayed other action designed to have been simultaneously taken along other parts of the field, in conjunction with Longstreet's movement. Already, the divisions of McLaws and Hood were waiting to carry out the orders assigned them ; Hill, opposite the enemy's center, was impatient to attack ; Ewell was eager to storm Culp's Hill ; while Early, on the Confederate left, had since two in the morning been ready for the word to scale Cemetery Hill from the direction of Gettysburg. Finally, by four o'clock in the afternoon, Longstreet, with his 12,000 men, got into position in front of and on the left of Sickles' command, the Federals being here arrayed in strong force behind stone walls and partly in the forest and among heavy boulders, the position bristling with artillery. Here, Longstreet delivered a vigorous attack, " forcing the salient at the peach orchard, and driving in the successive regiments and brigades from the left toward the right of the Third corps, pushing them back across the wheat-field, gaining the Devil's Den, and threatening to take Little Round Top." That the latter was not captured was ow-

ing to the determined efforts of General Warren, of the Federal Engineer corps, who, seeing the importance of holding the eminence against Longstreet and Hood, brought up in the nick of time a battery of artillery and a brigade of infantry, and repulsed the Confederate attack, though a hand-to-hand fight almost placed it in the latter's possession. Longstreet now turned upon Sickles' center and drove his command from the peach orchard, and with Hood's assistance pressed the Federals back upon their main position on Cemetery Ridge. Meanwhile, Hill attacked Sickles' right with Anderson's division, and pressed its corps-commander, Humphreys, from the field, Sickles himself falling in the fight. Later on in the evening, an attack was made on Cemetery Ridge, then stoutly held by Hancock, but this was repulsed after hard fighting. Simultaneously, Early, Ewell, and Johnson made determined attacks on the enemy's right center, on Cemetery Ridge and Culp's Hill, assaults which were only partially successful, Ewell capturing part of the Federal breastworks on the extreme right, though in doing so he suffered terribly from the fire of the Federal artillery. The approach of night brought the day's dire conflict to a close, though its gains were sufficiently

encouraging to the Confederates to lead their heroic chieftain to determine to renew the battle on the morrow. The losses on both sides had meanwhile been frightful.

The two days' battle, though it had been an aggressive and partly successful one to the Confederates, was by no means decisive. To both combatants, it had, moreover, been a sanguinary one, as the field, littered with dead, in all directions showed. On the Federal right, part of the Union lines had been occupied over night by Johnson, of Ewell's command, and on the morning of the 3rd it was designed by Lee to make the position won the basis of the new day's attack. In this, Lee was, however, checkmated by Meade, for by daybreak Johnson was heavily assaulted by the foe, and the position, after protracted fighting, was retaken before Confederate reinforcements could be brought up to strengthen it. The Union lines were then re-formed. After the morning's discomfiture, Lee at once resolved to break the enemy's center, and with that object he first ordered his artillery, consisting of 140 guns on Seminary Ridge, to open fire on the Federal lines. This furious cannonade, which lasted for close upon two hours, was fitfully replied to by Meade's 80 cannon posted on Cemetery Hill, for

his artillery was short of ammunition. After this cannoneers' combat—"the most terrible artillery-fire of the whole war"—there followed the gallant historic charge, which became the culminating feature of the three days' battle, that of the Virginian division, led by Major-General Pickett, 13,000 strong, supported by Heth's division of Hill's corps, under General Pettigrew, and protected on its exposed right flank by a brigade commanded by General Wilcox. The charge was made in three lines across the slopes of the valley intervening between the positions occupied by the opposing armies, its steady, magnificent advance, in the face of a murderous artillery and infantry cross-fire, being the admiration of friend and foe alike.

For a time, Pickett's gallant line was shielded by the fire of the Confederate artillery ; but as it advanced towards the salient position occupied by Hancock, which Lee had given Pickett as the objective point, the protecting fire was silenced, so as not to harm the advancing lines. Now they were thrown by Pickett into echelon order and pushed on rapidly by their ardent leader, when the ranks were once more thinned by the musketry fire of the foe, which was now directed upon them. In spite of this, the Virginians continued

to advance against their assailants, and the struggle henceforth was one waged at close quarters, until the Confederates pierced the first Federal line and threw it back upon the second. Pickett's brigades now found themselves far in advance of their supports, and were met besides by a hail of grape-shot at close range, which leveled hundreds with the dust. The command still did not flinch, however, though hotly opposed by Gibbon's Federal defenders. Upon the Union lines the advance almost recklessly threw itself, only to be mowed down by the Federal fire, though, at this crisis, a few of the supporting regiments came up and united with Pickett's men, and both for a time made a determined stand—only to be annihilated. At this juncture, the charge, it was seen, was a forlorn hope, and what remained of it had no alternative but to face about and retreat, or submit to the shrunk-from choice of capture. Out of 4,800 men who had followed Pickett to the point of contact with the Federal line, but 1,200 escaped ; while 3,600 fell before the murderous fire to which they had been exposed. Such was the tragic ending of a glorious and memorable deed of arms, and practically the close of the great battle of Gettysburg.

Gettysburg, it has often been said, should have

ended the war, together with the surrender of Vicksburg to Grant on July 4th, the morrow of the last day's fighting between Meade's and Lee's forces on the bloody field of Gettysburg. But this was hardly to be expected when we consider the keen-edged temper of the Southern troops and their confidence in their great leader, not to speak of the losses that had been inflicted, in the three days' engagement, upon the Army of the Potomac, and in view of what the Army of Northern Virginia was yet capable of accomplishing in the Campaign of the Wilderness that ensued, where man for man the Confederates greatly out-fought the Northerners. The losses on both sides at Gettysburg were appalling, and what the battle had cost Meade—in a loss of 23,000 out of nearly 90,000 of the Northern forces, against a "rebel" loss of 21,000 out of a total of 60,000 under Lee—showed the punishment that had been received, a punishment that restrained the northern general-in-chief from immediately renewing the fighting.

CHAPTER XII.

LEE RETREATS TO VIRGINIA AND WINTERS BEHIND THE RAPIDAN.

AFTER Gettysburg, a period of inactivity ensued, so far as actual strife between the forces of Lee and Meade is concerned, the latter hesitating to renew the attack upon Lee's command, or in any effective way to frustrate the withdrawal of the Army of Northern Virginia to the Potomac. The inactivity is partly explained by the wet season that had come on and made the roads through the South Mountain range well-nigh impassable ; and partly owing to Meade's caution in not desiring to come so soon again to close quarters with the Confederate forces, even in their retreat to Virginia. The lull and the avoidance of continued fighting enabled the Southern commander-in-chief to withdraw his army through Cashton and by the Fairfield road, *via* the Cumberland Valley, to the crossings of the Potomac. High water at the latter river delayed his crossing for a week, and made Lee anxious for the safety

of his command as well as for its maintenance, as camp supplies were again getting short and ammunition was also now low ; while it was known that the Federals, who had moved up from Frederick, Md., were at last close upon them, though still halting in the determination to deliver an attack, which had been ordered by the War authorities at Washington. A crossing was at length made by the 13th of July at Williamsport, and at Falling Waters, the ever-vigilant Stuart, by maneuvering in rear of the retreat, concealing from Meade the withdrawal of the Confederate forces to the Virginia side of the river. That Lee had expected an attack by Meade at the Potomac, or a check by him in conveying his army across the river, is manifest by the General Order issued by him to his soldiers at Hagerstown (his headquarters before crossing the Potomac) on the 11th of July (1863). In that spirited Address, General Lee says : "After the long and trying marches, endured with the fortitude that has ever characterized the soldiers of the Army of Northern Virginia, you have penetrated to the country of our enemies, and recalled to the defense of their own soil those who were engaged in the invasion of ours. You have fought a fierce and sanguinary battle, which, if not attended with the

success that has hitherto crowned your efforts, was marked by the same heroic spirit that has commanded the respect of your enemies, the gratitude of your country, and the admiration of mankind.

“Once more you are called upon to meet the enemy, from whom you have won on so many fields a name that will never die. Once more the eyes of your countrymen are turned upon you, and again do wives and sisters, fathers and mothers, and helpless children lean for defense on your strong arms and brave hearts. Let every soldier remember that on his courage and fidelity depends all that makes life worth having, the freedom of his country, the honor of his people, and the security of his home. Let each heart grow strong in the remembrance of our glorious past, and in the thought of the inestimable blessings for which we contend ; and, invoking the assistance of that Heavenly Power which has so signally blessed our former efforts, let us go forth in confidence to secure the peace and safety of our country. Soldiers, your old enemy is before you. Win from him honor worthy of your right cause, and worthy of your comrades, dead on so many illustrious fields.

R. E. LEE, *General Commanding.”*

The anticipated Federal attack was not, however, realized, though Meade made a show of following Lee by crossing the Potomac and advancing east of the Blue Ridge Mountains, with the design of pursuing the Confederates, who by this time, had reached Culpeper, and from there had taken up a strong defensive position on the south bank of the Rapidan River, Lee having his headquarters at Orange Court House. Meade, meanwhile, brought up his command to Culpeper Court House, where he established himself for the winter, having the Rapidan between him and Lee. From these several positions tentative movements were made by both sides during the early winter months, but, if we except a demonstration in the region of the Mine Run, nothing of importance came of them. Here both opposing armies were considerably depleted, by having to send parts of their respective forces to other and distant sections of the country, where serious conflicts were then occurring. Meade's strength was reduced by the despatch from it of a large portion of his army to South Carolina, to take part in the long siege of Charleston, stubbornly held by the Confederates; while another contingent was sent to New York city to assist in suppressing the Draft riots, there being at the

time much difficulty in recruiting in the North. Lee's force was about the same period reduced by Pickett's brigade being despatched to Petersburg, where, in the following summer, "the last citadel of the Confederacy," under Beauregard, gallantly withstood the assaults of General Grant and a long further siege until April, 1865, when its stout defenders were withdrawn, just before the surrender at Appomattox. Lee's army was further depleted by the despatch of General Longstreet with two divisions to General Bragg's assistance in holding Tennessee against Rosecrans. There he took active and memorable part in the battle of Chickamauga (September 19-20, 1863), in which the Federals were routed and driven from the field, and Rosecrans' army was saved from annihilation only by the strenuous efforts and gallantry of General Thomas. Of Longstreet's part in the direful battle, which proved so disastrous to the Federals, Lee, on September 25, wrote thus to his old general, Longstreet :

" My whole heart and soul have been with you and your brave corps in your late battle (of Chickamauga). It was natural to hear of Longstreet and Hill (D. H.) charging side by side, and pleasing to find the armies of the East and West vying with each other in valor and devotion to

their country. . . . Finish the work before you, my dear General, and return to me. I want you badly, and you cannot get back too soon."

Chickamauga was consecutively followed by the battle of Chattanooga (Nov. 25); but in this famous "battle above the clouds," fought on Lookout Mountain and on Missionary Ridge, Bragg was badly worsted, in spite of the strong natural positions he occupied. This was in the main due to the good generalship of General Grant, who had now come into the region, and had under him, as able lieutenants, Generals Hooker, Thomas, and Sherman; while Bragg was at a disadvantage in not having Longstreet with him, the latter having been assigned the task of besieging Knoxville, then in command of Burnside. The Federal victory at Chattanooga was gained at a loss of between 5,000 and 6,000 men; though about as many Confederates were captured on the field, besides 40 pieces of artillery and 7,000 stand of Southern small-arms.

Matters by this time were going ill for the South, especially in the West. After the rout at Chattanooga of Bragg, the latter was removed from his command, and Joseph E. Johnston was for a while put in his place. Meanwhile, Lee, with his veterans, was putting in a wretched winter on

the Rapidan, his army being badly fed and as badly clad, many of them being without shoes, and without suitable accommodation in the way of shelter. Much of his cavalry, moreover, had to be dispersed, in search of forage for the horses ; while the General-in-chief's wife and daughter, and others of his personal family, had to be depended upon for socks for his barefooted men, and for blankets to cover them in the bitterly cold nights in camp. To add to his anxieties at this time, General Lee had to give paternal thought to his second son, W. H. F. Lee, who in the summer of 1863 had been wounded in battle at Brandy Station, was captured, and held a close prisoner of war by the Federals. While captive in the North, his wife and child, moreover, died, thus adding to General Lee's solicitude and grief. At the period when these troubles were upon him, the Commander-in-chief was himself untiring in his attentions to the men under him, caring as far as he could for their material wants and comfort, his own table being often as indifferently supplied as were those of the lowest rank of his command. His ordinary dinner, we are told, was at this trying time nothing more bountiful or appetizing than a head of cabbage boiled in salt water, with a pone of corn bread—meat being

eaten not oftener than twice a week. His thoughtfulness at this juncture led him to permit many of his men to go home on furlough for thirty days, to such at least as were able to supply temporarily an able-bodied substitute-recruit, of good moral character. To both sides, in the long-continued strife, recruiting was an irksome and difficult business ; even in the North it was that, in spite of the inducements of large bounties, which it could well afford. To the South, on the other hand, it had become almost impossible now to strengthen the Confederate armies in the field, though Lee was urgent in his call for more men, and especially for additions to his cavalry equipment, in view of the opening of a new season and the operations which it would bring with it. With the Spring of 1864, the Federal force under Meade and Burnside on the Rappahannock reached a strength of 145,000 men ; while it had now for its chief command and leader General Ulysses S. Grant, who was given the supreme rank of lieutenant-general of the United States army. Against this large Union force, the Army of Northern Virginia, as it prepared for a renewal of hostilities, was under 62,000 men of all ranks ; what it lacked in numbers it, however, made good, under the inspiring leadership of Lee, in

élan and *morale*. Included in the total force of the Southern troops on the Rapidan was Longstreet's command, now returned from Tennessee, though Pickett's division was still in North Carolina.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE WILDERNESS CAMPAIGN.

THE region of the conflict between North and South, in the Spring of 1864, which has passed into history as that of the Wilderness Campaign, is the locality in Virginia south of the Rapidan, thickly set with scrub oak and dense pine, growing on a soil composed of sand and clay unsuited to agriculture, interspersed with swamps and dense underbrush unfavorable to military operations. The section of country was more or less known to the Confederates, as here, a year or so earlier, Lee had greatly harassed Hooker and subjected him to defeat. Included in the actions in the Wilderness are those that followed the battles in the desolate region, viz., those around Spottsylvania and on the banks of the North Anna, with the second battle of Cold Harbor—a month of fighting that brought its pitiful tale of loss to both combatants, but especially to the Federal troops, whose casualties alone amounted to over 50,000, in killed, wounded, and missing. To Grant, with

his known resolute character, doggedness, and military capacity of holding on and wearing down his opponent's force by mere attrition, was, as we have seen, given supreme command of the Army of the Potomac. On his reaching Meade and reorganizing the latter's army, Grant's design was to cross the Rapidan and move upon the Confederates at the earliest moment, his objective point being the "rebel" capital, together with the destruction of the Army of Northern Virginia. Besides General Meade, and General Burnside, whose separate command, which had just been organized at Annapolis, was now added to the strength of the Army of the Potomac, Grant had at his disposal the services of other general officers of tried ability—Hancock, Warren, and Sedgwick, with Sheridan in command of the Federal cavalry. Other contemporary movements included the despatch of a column under Major-General Ben. Butler, to ascend the James River and cut the Confederate communications with Richmond, and, if possible, capture Petersburg. Other simultaneous movements were those under Generals Sigel and Crooks, to operate in the Kenawha and Shenandoah valleys, destroy the Central Railroad and the Virginia and Tennessee R. R., and prevent rebel supplies from

reaching Lee and his army from the region round Southern Virginia. Unity of action, in this common scheme for the overthrow of the South, included the despatch of General W. T. Sherman (who had been in command of the Military Division of the Mississippi), on his renowned March through Georgia, where he had General J. E. Johnston and J. B. Hood successively to contend against, and where he won the battles of Dalton, Resaca, Kenesaw Mountain, occupied Atlanta, and then set out on his famous "march to the sea."

By this time the two great captains of the North and South were to manifest their strategical skill and test the mettle of their respective commands in the Wilderness labyrinths. The movement began, on May 4th (1864), by Grant throwing his right wing across the Rapidan, where Lee's army was on the alert to receive him, and where its chief was eager to draw him into the heart of the Wilderness, and there seek to bring on a general engagement. In this, Lee succeeded but too well, as Grant was soon to learn, when he found himself enmeshed in Nature's entanglements in the region. Moving his left wing forward on the road towards Chancellorsville, Grant now sought to flank Lee, and, by

gaining Gordonsville, to fall upon the Southern rear. For the incidents of the fighting that ensued in the Wilderness thickets, we cannot do better, for the reader's information, than draw upon the intelligent narrative furnished in the Werner Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica" (See Vol. V., pp. 551-2, which we have the Publisher's kind permission to quote). There, the writer of the article on "The Wilderness Campaign" remarks that :

"Lee was fully aware of the advantages of the Wilderness for defensive operations, and resolved, if possible, to bring on a general engagement in the midst of the thicket. Two lines of advance running nearly due east and west, and parallel to each other, were open to Lee, and along these roads, on the morning of the 5th (of May), he promptly advanced, Ewell's division taking the turnpike (or northerly) road, while Hill's division advanced along the plank-road (the southerly thoroughfare). Longstreet's division was, during the first day's battle, left at Gordonsville to cover Lee's rear, and did not come up in time to take part in the first of the fighting. Burnside's command in the Northern army was also too late in arriving to take part in the first day's fighting, he having been left on the Rappahannock to cover the rear of the Federal army. When the Union forces first struck the Confederates, they supposed it to be merely a rear-guard which they had encountered, and that the army of Lee was in retreat. But they were soon convinced that they had made a mistake, and in a few moments the fighting was sharp and results

bloody. The attack was begun by the advance of Ayres's and Bartlett's brigades, which were sent to the right and left of the turnpike road to disperse whatever force might be found there. The Confederates were driven back; but the situation was soon changed by the quick advance of Stuart's cavalry brigade of Confederates, and shortly afterward by the arrival of Rhodes's division, and their attack on the Federal troops.

"The effort to support Ayres and Bartlett proved abortive, as the thickets were so dense that before aid could arrive they had been driven back in confusion. On the whole, the fighting at this point was very disastrous for the Federals, McCandless's brigade alone losing two full regiments in its effort to escape from its entangled position on the right of the Federal advance column. So far, the Union army had lost three thousand men, besides several guns, while the Confederates retained possession of the contested ground. A little after one o'clock the Sixth corps, which had been sent to the aid of the Fifth, was struck by Ewell. The Confederates were at first repulsed, but a terrific charge by Rhodes's men drove the Federals back, the Confederates being afterward, in turn, forced back. When the fight for the day was over, the Union troops were in possession of the disputed ground. Meantime, General Grant had the conviction carried home to him that General Lee meant to fight him in this tangle of thickets, and he now began to make his preparations for such a contingency. He ordered Hancock to the assistance of Getty, who was holding the junction of the Brock road, which runs at right angles with the turnpike. Soon after Hancock arrived here he was ordered to attack and drive back Hill, but this he failed to do, the men fighting at close quarters, and at night each army drinking from the same "branch," or brooklet, so close were their positions to

each other. This ended the first day's fighting in the Wilderness.

"Early the next day the fighting was resumed, Lee commencing the attack at about 4:30 a.m. In the meantime, Burnside and Longstreet had come up to their respective armies, and the lines of battle of both were now fully formed. Grant's line extended over a frontage of five and a half miles—from Todd's tavern to Germania Ford, Sedgwick occupying the right, to the left of Sedgwick, in regular succession, being Warren, Burnside, and Hancock. Lee's army was disposed as it was on the preceding day, with the exception that it was now in three sections, Ewell being on the left, Hill in the center, and Longstreet on the right. Lee began his assault by attacking Sedgwick, but the Confederates were easily repulsed, and Warren and Hancock made an attack on Hill. For a time the troops of Hill gave way, but at the critical moment Anderson's brigade of Hill's division was thrown forward, and Longstreet's troops suddenly coming to the support of Hill's shattered lines, the tide of battle was turned and Hancock was driven back. At the most critical juncture in the fight, General Longstreet was seriously wounded by his own men, and the loss of time occasioned by the change of officers necessary after this occurrence was fatal to the Confederate success. Before General Lee himself could reach the scene and restore order, the Federals had regained all they had lost by the attack which Longstreet had made. At four o'clock, Lee, in person, led Hill's and Longstreet's men to an assault against the enemy, and for a time the Union left was in extreme danger. But a prompt and desperate charge made by Colonel Hoffmann, according to Hancock, was the turning-point of the engagement, and saved the left wing from entire destruction. To add to the horror of the

situation, the woods were afire from the burning powder of the guns, and many dead and wounded were consumed by the flames. Nightfall did not cause the fighting to cease, for just at sunset General Lee sent forward a heavy column, led by General Gordon, against the right wing of the Federal army, and threw it into the greatest confusion. Federal reinforcements were hurried up, however, and the total darkness of the night put an end to the fighting of the second day, in which, it was estimated, the Federals had lost at least fifteen thousand men, and the Confederates about ten thousand. The total losses for the two days were about twenty thousand and thirteen thousand, respectively.

"On the morning of May 7th it was apparent that General Lee had determined to assume the defensive and let Grant attack him. This Grant at once began by attempting a flank movement, his objective point being Spottsylvania Court House, 13 miles away. The column of the Federal advance along the Brock road was led by Warren's division, and after considerable delay, occasioned by its own cavalry, which obstructed the road, the Federal advance reached a point two or three miles from the Court House. No serious fighting had taken place, and the Federal commanders were elated with the idea that Lee had probably been unaware of the attempt made to turn his flank; but they were again to be undeceived in a terrible manner. No sooner had the head of the Federal column arrived at the point indicated above than they were met by a terrific fire and forced back, each successive command, as it came up, sharing the same fate. The attempt to turn Lee's flank had failed, and Grant ordered his army to strengthen its position by entrenchments. All of this and the following day was spent in maneuvers, on both sides, for positions, Lee always barring any southward movement on

the part of Grant by throwing his men across the line of march. At last, on the 10th, Grant attacked, and the battle of Spottsylvania Court House took place, after which Grant and Lee began their famous movement to reach Richmond, the one to obtain possession of the Confederate capital, the other to defend it. Lee was successful, and when Grant arrived at Hanover Junction, on May 23d, he found Lee's army between him and Richmond, in a strong position, already entrenched. The position of Lee's army was impregnable. Grant knew it would be madness to attempt to turn his position, so after a little desultory skirmishing the same tactics as before were resorted to, Grant withdrawing his forces on the 26th and again attempting to flank Lee. Lee followed Grant's movements closely, at every turn interposing his army between the Federals and the Confederate capital. Several stands were made by both armies, but on no occasion was a pitched battle fought, until the old battlefields of McClellan's campaign of two years before were reached. Here the Wilderness Campaign proper ends, as the battle of Cold Harbor has been placed by war-historians in another category. Soon after this battle, the Federal army, having described a semi-circular path around the city of Richmond, was transferred to the south bank of the James River, and the siege of Petersburg, the final act of the great drama, was begun.

"No characteristics of the Wilderness stand out with greater prominence than do the heroism and determination exhibited by both armies. Never before had Lee's ability as a tactician and strategist had greater demands made upon it, and never before had those demands met with a fuller response. An impartial judge would find it hard to award the palm for superiority to either army. On the one hand, the Federal army was at a disadvantage on account of the intricate nature

of the country, and on the other, the Confederate forces were largely outnumbered. But, despite all advantages or disadvantages, no men in any circumstances could have done better than did both armies, and the claims of both Lee and Grant to greatness, even had they no other foundation, would find a solid basis in the conduct, by each, of this one campaign. On the battlefields several soldiers' cemeteries have been established, but thousands were unburied, and lay undisturbed amidst the thicket that once gave back the din of conflict and flamed in lurid brightness with the fire of battle."

After the battles in the Wilderness, Grant, sick of fighting in the tangled forest and of the defensive contest he was obliged there to maintain, ordered Meade to despatch Warren, by a night-march, towards Spottsylvania Court House, with the view of cutting off Lee from his communications with the Confederate capital, and with some idea of forming a junction with Butler on the James River. Ever watchful of his adversary, the Southern leader cleverly anticipated the new Federal movement, and ordered the corps of Ewell and Anderson to proceed thither (to the Court House) by the shortest route. In this, the Confederates won the race for position on the Spottsylvania Ridge, heading off Warren's command by a more rapid night-march and a better knowledge of the country. At sunrise, on the morning of May 8th, Anderson managed to throw up hasty

entrenchments on the Ridge and formed a line of battle ready to be hurled upon Warren and the advance corps of Grant's army, at this time ignorant of their being forestalled by the Confederates, save, as it was thought, by some dismounted men of Fitzhugh Lee's cavalry. General Warren, on arriving at the Ridge and pushing on his advance to secure the position, was met with an unexpected and withering Confederate fire, which threw his command into confusion ; but, on bringing up the remainder of his corps, he renewed the attack, only to be met, however, by a severe repulse. During the night the Confederate commands of Early and Ewell came upon the scene, together with General Lee, and the position taken up by Warren on the previous day was strengthened against the expected renewed attack on the morrow. The 9th of May brought the whole of Grant's army to the Court House, when a general assault of the Confederate lines was ordered, Warren, Sedgwick, Hancock, and Burnside taking part in the attack. In the mêlée that ensued, the Federals lost heavily, though they fought gallantly, delivering during the day no less than twelve assaults.

The day of the 11th was spent by the Federals in getting ready for an elaborate attack on the

right center of the Southern line, that part of the Confederate position being deemed by General Grant the weakest, as it proved. On the following day, the assault was fiercely launched, Hancock massing his men there chiefly against the command of General Edward Johnson of Ewell's division. After a desperate resistance by the latter, his command was overpowered, and the Confederate defense line was cut in two, while 3,000 of Johnson's men, including the General himself, were taken prisoners by Hancock. The consequence of this was to force Lee to withdraw to interior lines, after a vain attempt had been made to recapture the position that Johnson had lost. The enemy were unable, however, to penetrate further the Southern position or break Lee's lines at other points. It was then that Grant, in his wonted dogged way, wrote to the War authorities at Washington : "I propose to fight it out on this line, if it takes all summer"—a threat, however, which, as we shall presently see, was not enforced. From the 14th to the 18th (of May) desultory fighting went on ; though two determined assaults on the Southern lines were delivered by the Federals, which Lee was able to repulse, with heavy losses to the Union troops. On the 19th Lee discerned signs of the Federals

giving up the attempt to carry his position and of moving off, possibly with the design of marching directly upon Richmond. This, however, was not Grant's immediate purpose ; his motive clearly was to draw Lee from his strong position, which he found he could not hope to take, in spite of his announced purpose "to hold on all summer." Presently Grant's design, in abandoning the region of the Spottsylvania Court House, was to take up a position on the North Anna River, one of the head streams of the Pamunkey, so as to get round the Confederate right, but really to disengage Lee from a position which Grant had spent twelve days in finding to be unsatisfiable.

No sooner was this Federal movement noted by Lee than he sought to interfere with it. This he did, first, by inflicting, through the agency of Ewell's corps, a heavy blow upon the retiring Federals, which delayed its movements from the 19th to the 21st of May, and then by ordering an advance of his own men, by a shorter route than that taken by Grant, to the south bank of the North Anna. This accomplished, he once more surprised his adversary by revealing the Confederates in mass confronting him. When Grant reached the river, he at once threw Warren and

Hancock's commands across it to grapple again with the foe. Only Hancock's corps was opposed by Lee in crossing the stream ; after which the Southern leader astutely thrust his center between the two wings of Grant's army and put the Federals at enormous disadvantage. Being thus handicapped, the Federal commander, after a reconnaissance which showed the hopelessness of renewed fighting in the region, recrossed the North Anna, contenting himself with the small game of destroying some miles of the Virginia Central railroad. After this, he set out with his entire army, and, after making a wide detour eastward, he advanced southward along the Pamunkey in the direction of the York River and the waterway into Chesapeake Bay. This new movement, which was effected towards the close of May, brought Grant into water-communication with the sea ; while Lee met it by retiring south with his army toward Richmond, and took up a strong position in front of the Chickahominy, the Federal forcing of which river would, as Lee felt sure, bring on a great battle.

A sore struggle, indeed, here ensued, that which precipitated the bloody battle of Cold Harbor, near the site of that of Gaines' Mill, which had been fought two years before. The

operations in the region began on May 31 by a preliminary conflict between Sheridan's cavalry corps and that of Fitzhugh Lee. The army of the Potomac coming up on the following day, the Federals proceeded to entrench themselves temporarily behind some slight earthworks, from which, on the 3rd of June, they advanced to the attack. Lee's success in preparing for the assault was instantly apparent in the hot repulse the Federals met with, the attacking columns being met with so disastrous a fire that hardly any life could live before it. So dire was the Confederate fire that seven colonels of Hancock's attacking columns fell mortally wounded. The battle was no sooner begun than it was ended; the losses to the Federals resulting from all casualties in the engagements of the 1st and 3rd of June reaching, it is chronicled, close upon 10,000 ! So incredible seems the havoc in the Unionist ranks in these two days' fighting, that we deem it proper to vouch for the figures from an authoritative source—that given in A. A. Humphreys' narrative of "The Virginia Campaign of 1864-65," where that writer affirms that "according to the report of the Medical Director, Surgeon McParlin, the wounded brought to the hospitals from the battle of the 3rd of June num-

bered 4,517. The dead were at least 1,100. The wounded brought to the hospitals from the battle of the 1st of June were 2,125; the killed were not less than 500. The wounded on the 1st and 3rd of June were, therefore, 6,642, and the killed not less than 1,600; but, adopting the number of killed and missing furnished General Badeau from the Adjutant-General's office, 1,769 killed, 1,537 missing (many—most, indeed—of them, no doubt, killed) we have 8,411 for the killed and wounded, and for the total casualties, 9,948." The Southern losses, it may be added, were, on the other hand, not more than 1,600. From this it will be seen how severely Grant had been beaten at Cold Harbor—a beating which he so far scrupled at the time to admit that he hesitated for a while to send a flag of truce to General Lee, asking permission to rescue his wounded from the battlefield and bury his dead. The battle closed with the Confederates in full possession of their position and defenses; while Grant withdrew his army from the field, and, crossing the James, proceeded to lay siege to Petersburg. Thus ended, practically in failure to Grant's designs, the Wilderness Campaign, with the contests that grew out of, or followed upon it. The ambition which led the Federal lieu-

tenant-general so boastfully to engage in it, cost the North a loss bordering upon 60,000 men!"

Before passing to another chapter, it will, perhaps, seem proper here to answer a question which the readers may probably have asked himself, "What, meanwhile, had become of Lee's invaluable cavalry officer, General J. E. B. Stuart?" The answer, unhappily, is a brief one, viz., that he lost his gallant life in an engagement on the 11th of May (1864), near Richmond, when repelling a raid upon the Confederate capital by General Sheridan, who had been detached upon that mission by General Grant after the opening battles in the Wilderness. His loss was a severe one to the Confederacy, as he ranked foremost among the Cavalry generals of the Civil War.*

* On May 20th, General Lee, in announcing to his army the death of Major-General Stuart, paid the following high tribute to his memory: "Among the gallant soldiers who have fallen in the war, General Stuart was second to none in valor, in zeal, and in unflinching devotion to his country. His achievements form a conspicuous part of the history of this army, with which his name and services will be forever associated. To military capacity of a high order, and to the nobler virtues of the soldier, he added the brighter graces of a pure life, guided and sustained by the Christian's faith and hope. . . . His grateful countrymen will mourn his loss and cherish his memory. To his comrades-in-arms he has left the proud recollections of his deeds and the inspiring influence of his example."

CHAPTER XIV.

OPERATIONS ON THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE JAMES RIVER AND THE SIEGE OF PETERSBURG.

BAULKED in his endeavor to reach Richmond from the North, Grant sought now, as we have related, to reach it by abandoning the line of the Chickahominy, crossing the James, and, with the assistance of Butler, now at Petersburg, to attempt the movement from the south. This resolution of Grant's was put in action on the night of the 12th of June, when the Federal leader proceeded, by way of White House and Wilcox's Landing, across the James ; and by the 16th of the month the Federal hosts were massed at Petersburg, the "backdoor of Richmond," which was held by General Beauregard. The same day (June 16) found part of Lee's army, now numbering only 30,000 men, south of the James, the divisions of Pickett and Field being almost at once engaged in an attack upon Butler, assisted by the forces under Beauregard.

While these new dispositions in the armies of

Grant and Lee were being made, the Federal general, Hunter, was engaged in the task General Sigel had been occupied with, of raiding and burning in the Valley of the Virginia, destroying the railroad tracks and bridges, and committing many outrages in the region, including the devastating and burning of homesteads. By the 16th of June, Hunter had set himself the task of attacking the town of Lynchburg, then held by a small local force of Confederates, supplemented by the command of General Breckenridge. News of this reaching Lee, the latter detached Early from his army with 10,000 men to bring Hunter's wild career to a close; this had the desired effect, for on Early's reaching Lynchburg, which had already repulsed the Federal attack, he found Hunter and his command in full retreat from the place, passing out of the region through Western Virginia. All that Early had for his pains, was to get upon the rear of Hunter's retreating force, when he captured a number of prisoners, besides the prize of thirteen pieces of artillery.

From the middle of June, 1864, to April 3rd, 1865, Grant's operations before Petersburg continued with varying but wearying fortunes. The operations, the while, had little of the character of a siege; nor, save for the protection of the

Confederate capital, whose fortunes were linked with those of Petersburg, was it worth Lee's while to fritter away the strength and patience of his army, for nearly nine months, in front of the city. But while the Army of the James remained there, there, necessarily, must Lee and his veterans remain also. Had events gone more favorably for the South in other sections of the country, Lee's detention so long at Petersburg would not have greatly mattered ; but the turn of the tide elsewhere, adverse to the Confederacy, and the great and increasing preponderance in the numbers of the Federal armies, were Lee's, and the South's, undoing. All our hero could do was but to bend his head, as he ever did, to the will of Heaven, in ordering events otherwise, even to the blasting of Southern hopes.

Shortly after settling down to the protracted investment of Petersburg, Grant ordered elaborate assaults upon the place, though results were not as he anticipated ; nor did they compensate for the frightful slaughter they occasioned. All that was practically gained from them, or, at least, from those of the 15th, 16th, and 17th of June, was the carrying of portions of the Confederate exterior lines, which did not effect any more important purpose than to add to the area of the Federal

entrenchments. It is on record that Grant's losses in these assaults did not fall much short of 10,000 men; while the Confederate casualties were not a third of that number. Up to this time, when the siege operations proper are claimed to have been begun, there had been little accomplished by the Union army beyond the four day assaults (June 15-18), if we exclude the general raiding in the neighborhood, with the design of destroying the Weldon railroad, which connects Petersburg with the Confederate capital. Even in that operation and other general skirmishing in the vicinity, success did not altogether lie with the North. This we may see from the two subjoined reports of General Lee to the Confederate Secretary of War at Richmond, under the dates, respectively, of June 22nd and 29th (1864). On the first of these dates, Lee writes:

“ Since Friday last there has been skirmishing along the lines in front of Bermuda Hundreds and around Petersburg. The Federal army appears to be concentrated at these two places, and is strongly entrenched.

“ Yesterday, a movement of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, was made towards the right of our forces and Petersburg, in the direction of the Weldon railroad. The enemy was driven back,

and his infantry is reported to have halted. His cavalry have continued to advance upon the road by a route further removed from our position.

"The enemy's infantry was attacked this afternoon, on the west side of the Jerusalem plank road, and driven from his first line of works to his second on that road, by General Mahone, with a part of his division. About 1,600 prisoners, 4 pieces of artillery, 8 stands of colors, and a large stand of small-arms were captured."

Under date of June 29th, the Confederate commander-in-chief reports to Richmond :

"General Hampton states that he attacked the enemy's cavalry yesterday afternoon on their return from Staunton River bridge, this side of Sappony Church, and drove them beyond that point. The fight continued during the night, and at daylight this morning he turned their left and routed them. When they reached Reame's Station they were confronted by a portion of Mahone's division, who attacked them in front, while their left flank was turned by General Fitzhugh Lee's cavalry. The enemy was completely routed, and several pieces of artillery, with a number of prisoners, wagons, ambulances, etc., were captured. The cavalry are in pursuit.

R. E. Lee, *General.*"

If Grant expected to take Petersburg by a *coup de main*, he was grievously disappointed ; his attacks on it in the middle of July, as we have shown, were practically fruitless, while they brought only calamitous loss of life. In the North, there was at this time (gold in New York was then over 2.50) a widespread feeling of disappointment, as well as of impatience, at the manner in which he had conducted the campaign, with its ruthless waste of human life. The war of invasion was in many Northern journals bluntly spoken of as a tragic and costly failure ; while sympathy was not even withheld from the brave Lee and his ragged and ill-fed veterans, who had won their admiration, and, in spite of all their disadvantages, had accomplished so much. Nor, in military quarters, did it escape notice that Grant's heedless and unfeeling tactics in the field—in marked contrast to those of the humane and considerate Lee—were breeding discontent in his army, and giving birth to a feeling of hopelessness in the ranks when ordered out on rash ventures. This is specially and pointedly noted in General F. A. Walker's "Life of General Hancock," when referring particularly to the Second corps of Grant's army, on whose services in critical

undertakings Grant largely relied. The passage is as follows :

“ As the corps turned southward from Cold Harbor to take its part in the second act of the great campaign of 1864, the historian” (relates General Walker) “ is bound to confess that something of its pristine virtue had departed under the terrific blows that had been showered upon it in the series of fierce encounters which have been recited. Its casualties had averaged more than four hundred a day for the whole period since it crossed the Rapidan . . . moreover, the confidence of the troops in their leaders had been severely shaken. They had again and again been ordered to attacks which the very privates in the ranks knew to be hopeless from the start ; they had seen the fatal policy of ‘ assaults all along the line,’ persisted in even after the most ghastly failures ; and they had almost ceased to expect victory when they went into battle. The lamentable story of Petersburg ” (the historian-critic adds) “ cannot be understood without reference to facts like these.” In sharp contrast to this feeling of despondency and discontent in Grant’s command was the hopefulness manifested by all ranks of Lee’s army, their ready alacrity to undertake any

enterprise their beloved leader asked of them, and their fidelity and attachment to the person of their great chieftain. To their cause—a lost one though it was to be—they were, moreover, and to the last, ever staunchly and enthusiastically loyal and faithful. This is well borne out and attested in a passage occurring at the close of the chapter, on ‘The Campaign in the Wilderness,’ in Professor H. A. White’s admirable “Life of Robert E. Lee and the Southern Confederacy” (N. Y., Putnams, 1902). “The Army of Northern Virginia,” observes the interesting and well-informed writer of the biography, “still retained its old elasticity and vigor. Lee’s losses” (in the Wilderness Campaign) amounted to about 20,000. The spirit of the soldiers was yet buoyant. The old yell had gathered additional fierceness; the men went into battle with all their former dash and impetuosity. Perhaps not one in Lee’s heroic band held a doubt as to the ultimate success of the Confederacy.”

At the beginning of July, when discontent was rife in the North at the protracted and costly campaign Grant was conducting, and when Washington was but indifferently protected by Federal troops, while high military officers in the

National capital were known to be engrossed in petty jealousies of each other, Lee despatched his trusted colleague, General Early, with a force of 10,000 men, across the Potomac to invade Maryland and threaten Washington. From the Southern point of view, the projected raid northward was a politic one under the circumstances ; while it was most disconcerting and embarrassing to the Washington authorities and created consternation throughout the North. It moreover diverted to the capital a large contingent of troops organized at New Orleans, which were designed as additions to Grant's army ; while, at the close of the month (July, 1864), it drew from his cavalry command at Petersburg the dashing Sheridan. From the latter officer's "Personal Memoirs" (N. Y., 1888), we extract an interesting account of the expedition of Early, with its chief incidents, and the efforts that were made in the North to interfere with and put an end to it. "By rapid marching," relates General Sheridan, "Early reached Winchester on the 2nd of July, and on the 4th occupied Martinsburg, driving General Sigel out of that place the same day that Hunter's troops, after their fatiguing retreat through the mountains, reached Charlestown, West Virginia. Early was thus enabled to cross the Potomac

without difficulty, when, moving around Harper's Ferry, through the gaps of the South Mountain, he found his path unobstructed till he reached the Monocacy, where Rickett's division of the Sixth corps, and some raw troops that had been collected by General Lew Wallace, met and held the Confederates till the other reinforcements that had been ordered to the capital from Petersburg could be brought up. Wallace contested the line of the Monocacy with obstinacy, but had to retire finally toward Baltimore. The road was then open to Washington, and Early marched to the outskirts and began against the capital the demonstrations (July 11-12) which were designed to divert the Army of the Potomac from its main purpose in front of Petersburg. Early's audacity in thus threatening Washington had caused some concern to the officials in the city, but as the movement was looked upon by General Grant as a mere foray, which could have no decisive issue, the Administration was not much disturbed till the Confederates came in close proximity. Then was repeated the alarm and consternation of two years before, fears for the safety of the capital being magnified by the confusion and discord existing among the different generals in Washington and Baltimore; and the imaginary dangers

vanished only with the appearance of General Wright, who with the Sixth corps and one division of the Nineteenth corps, pushed out to attack Early as soon as he could get his arriving troops in hand, but under circumstances that precluded celerity of movement. As a consequence, the Confederates escaped with little injury, retiring across the Potomac to Leesburg, unharassed save by some Union cavalry that had been sent out into London county by Hunter, who, in the meantime, had arrived at Harper's Ferry by the Baltimore and Ohio railroad.

"From Leesburg Early retired through Winchester toward Strasburg, but when the head of his column reached this place he found that he was being followed by General Crook with the combined troops of Hunter and Sigel only, Wright having returned to Washington under orders to rejoin Meade at Petersburg. This reduction of the pursuing force tempting Early to resume the offensive, he attacked Crook at Kernstown, and succeeded in administering such a check as to necessitate this general's retreat to Martinsburg, and finally to Harper's Ferry. Crook's withdrawal restored to Early the line of the Upper Potomac, so, recrossing this stream, he advanced again into Maryland, and sending McCausland on

to Chambersburg, Pa., laid that town in ashes [July 30], leaving 3,000 non-combatants without shelter or food. . . .

"This second irruption of Early, and his ruthless destruction of Chambersburg, led to many recommendations on the part of General Grant looking to a speedy elimination of the confusion then existing among the Union forces along the Upper Potomac, but for a time the authorities at Washington would approve none of his propositions. . . . Finally the maneuvers of Early and the raid to Chambersburg compelled a partial compliance, though Grant had somewhat circumvented the difficulty already by deciding to appoint a commander for the forces in the field that were to operate against Early. On the 31st of July, General Grant selected me as this commander. . . . On the evening of August 1, I was relieved from immediate duty with the Army of the Potomac, but not from command of the cavalry as a corps organization. I arrived at Washington August 4, and the next day received instructions from General Halleck to report to General Grant at Monocacy Junction, whither he had gone direct from City Point, in consequence of a characteristic despatch from the President indicating his disgust with the con-

fusion, disorder, and helplessness prevailing along the Upper Potomac, and intimating that Grant's presence there was necessary."

This extract, which is longer than at the outset we intended to make, sets forth the essential incidents in General Early's expedition towards the national capital. It at the same time makes clear, what we have already pointed out, the unseemly contentions, caballings, and jealousies rife among the Northern generals, and that at a critical juncture of affairs, when the nation was riven asunder by civil war, and when patriotism and loyalty to the cause these officers professed to uphold counselled concord and amity among brethren in the profession of arms. How sore a trial, in addition to all else he had at this era to bear, these contentions were to the head of the Federal nation—so soon now to come to a pitiful and tragical end—we can readily conceive; and well was Lincoln justified in calling upon Grant at this period, as in his perplexity we see that he did, to seek aid in making peace among the responsible though jarring chiefs of the Unionist arms.

But we once more turn our attention to our narrative proper, though in the interval there has been little occurring at Petersburg to record,

save the progress of Federal entrenching, and the construction of what is known as Burnside's Mine, to be used against the fortifications of the city, and its gallant defenders within and without its walls. The story of this Mine, it has to be related, is a tragical one, with an almost farcical cast, for what had taken many weeks' expenditure of labor and material to prepare, and launch against the foe, recoiled, and with most disastrous effect, upon the Federals who had prepared, and upon the sacrificed assaulting columns that took part in the attack, after the mine was fired (July 30th). The mine was excavated behind a concealed portion of the Federal lines, a ravine in rear of Burnside's command, and extended along a tunnel-way, over 500 feet in length, to a point immediately underneath a projecting angle of the Confederate defences, known as Elliott's Salient, at the time occupied by 300 of Elliott's Carolinian corps, together with a battery of guns. Here, in this ghastly subterranean passage-way, were deposited some 8000 pounds of blasting powder, which, when the match was applied to it, was not only to blow up the 300 Carolinians and the battery on the angle crest, but to cause such consternation to the Confederates and damage to their fortifi-

cations, that it would be easy, it was thought, to assault and carry Petersburg and capture its doomed defenders.

Extensive preparations had previously been made by the Federals for this direful attempt to capture Petersburg. A monster array of mortars and heavy guns were put in position to assist in the assault; while more than half of Grant's large army was drawn up, in addition to the assaulting columns, to be precipitated against the breaches about to be made in the "rebel" defenses, and, when the crucial moment arrived, to be thrown into, seize, and occupy the city, the defenders of which, it was thought, would be so paralyzed by the firing of the mine as to become easy Federal prey. The time, moreover, had been well chosen for the assault, for at the period Lee and a large portion of his command, by a piece of strategy on Grant's part, had been lured across the James River, some twenty miles from the place, to defend an outlying Confederate post against attack by Sheridan and Hancock, whose ulterior design was to march upon Richmond. The outlying post, it was found, however, was so strongly protected that the expedition against it was unable to effect anything, and so was recalled; Lee and

his command returning to Petersburg almost simultaneously.

Meantime, all having been made ready, the mine was sprung, the explosion blowing up the Confederate fort in the air, and with it its 300 garrison, but leaving an immense crater, over 30 feet deep, 140 feet in length, and 65 feet in width, partly filled with a mass of loose earth, impossible for the Federal troops to get over on their way to the assault. Into this chasm, however, the Federal forlorn hope, composed of white and black soldiery, were sent, only to become an entangled and confused mass, upon whom, when the Confederates recovered from their surprise and rallied their defending forces, they poured a fire of so destructive a character that no life could live through it. To add to the confusion in the crater, the supporting Federal columns were also pushed forward, quickly losing their formation, and huddling all up inextricably; while an indescribable panic seized the whole, as they were mowed down by the merciless Confederate fire. The place became a veritable charnel-house and death-trap, though the Federals bravely sought to remedy matters, and, in spite of the confusion worse confounded, attempted to reach the crest of the "rebel" positions; but all were driven help-

lessly back or fell victims to the withering fire poured upon them. From this scene of heart-rending and unresisted slaughter few returned to the Federal lines ; the losses in killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, amounting to no less than 4,500 men, falling chiefly on Ledlie's division of Burnside's corps, and upon the divisions of the Federal Ninth corps commanded by Wilcox and Potter. The Confederate casualties, including the 300 of the South Carolina infantry blown up, with part of Pegram's battery, in Elliott's Salient, all told, did not exceed 1000.

Thus ended the episode of the Burnside Mine, an episode which in its calamitous and demoralizing results was most mortifying to General Grant ; while it created such consternation in the North that it sent up the depreciated United States currency, always extremely susceptible to Federal disasters in the field, to 2.90. Another result was to cause several of the influential Northern journals to renew the clamor to end the war, with a suggestion, which emanated from the *New York Herald*, to despatch an embassy to the Richmond administration, seeking to bring about that purpose by an immediate treaty of peace. Nothing, however, came of the proposal.

Later in the month of August, and after the

Federal army had recovered from the effects of the misdirected Burnside Mine operation, Grant renewed his raiding attempts in the vicinity of his extended lines, chiefly with the intent of destroying the Weldon railroad. His further design, no doubt, was to divert his forces from the tedium of trench-construction and other wearying siege duties in front of Petersburg. In these raiding diversions, which were conducted, under Grant's orders, by two infantry divisions, commanded by General Hancock, assisted by General Warren's corps, by Gregg's cavalry, and by a battery of Federal guns, misfortune, in the main, also pursued Northern operations. To check these movements, as well as to protect his own flanks, General Lee directed General A. P. Hill, supported by Heth's and Mahone's commands, Hampton's cavalry, and Pegram's guns, to move along the endangered railway, upon which, and upon the Danville railroad, Lee's army depended for its supplies from Richmond, with the design, if possible, of bringing the Federals to battle. For some days there was no other result than sundry skirmishings; though by the 19th of August Warren's command was come upon and a heavy loss was caused him, including the capture of 2,500 of his men.

The Federals, meanwhile, strongly entrenched themselves by the railway, and Hill found it difficult to oust them or bring them to battle. Thus was the Weldon road lost to the Confederates. This, however, did not interfere with Hill's efforts to dislodge the enemy, and fighting continued for a time, the Federal losses, chiefly falling upon Warren's corps, amounting by the 21st of the month to 4,450 men. By the 24th (of August) Warren's command was re-enforced by the divisions under Hancock, which materially strengthened Warren, especially in the neighborhood of Ream's Station on the Weldon railroad. Here a severe engagement took place, most disastrous to Hancock, and disheartening in its effect upon his spiritless and panic-stricken men. The attack was made by General A. P. Hill, led by a charge of Heth's command, and supported by Hampton's cavalry and part of Pegram's battery. The extent of the discomfiture which ensued is told in General Lee's report to Richmond, under date August 26th (two days after the encounter). Here is Lee's account of the fighting :

"General A. P. Hill attacked the enemy in his entrenchments at Ream's Station yesterday evening, and at the second assault carried his entire line. Cooke's and McRae's North Carolina brig-

ades, under General Heth, and Lane's North Carolina brigade of Wilcox's division, under General Connor, with Pegram's artillery, composed the assaulting column. One line of breast-works was carried by the cavalry, under General Hampton, with great gallantry, who contributed greatly to the success of the day. Seven stands of colors, two thousand prisoners, and nine pieces of artillery are in our possession. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded is reported to be heavy ; ours relatively small. Our profound gratitude is due to the Giver of all victory, and our thanks to the brave men and officers engaged.

R. E. LEE, *General.*"

After the action at Reams' Station, little of moment for a month happened, save minor attacks on the extension of Lee's position north of the James River. About the middle of September an expedition was sent out under General Hampton to attack a Federal post about twenty miles from Petersburg, and, with the aid of the Confederate cavalry, to capture a large drove of cattle, designed for the uses of the Federal camp, then grazing in Prince George county, Va. The Federal post was taken by surprise, the works and camp being captured, with 300 of a garrison ; while the cattle were secured and driven towards the

"rebel" camp. On the way, however, Hampton's column was met by one under the Federal general, Wilson, which sought to resist the Confederate return to Petersburg and retake the captured beeves. Though Hampton lost fifty men in the fight that ensued, he was able to return with his command to headquarters, bringing with him all the cattle, which proved a timely acquisition, for many weeks, to the ever-scantily-supplied Confederate camp leaders.

CHAPTER XV.

THE AUTUMN OF 1864, AND THE WINTER OF 1864-5.

As the autumn of 1864 had now come and the winter of 1864-5 approached, the situation of affairs in the Confederacy was extremely grave and full of omen. Grant, it is true, had, so far, effected little about Petersburg, and Lee and his army were still in fine fettle. But elsewhere it was going ill with the South, and premonitions of "a lost cause" were beginning to arise in the minds of friends of the Confederacy. The winter months which followed proved still more ominous of the coming end, the result, in the main, of Sherman's achievements in the West and South, including the taking of Atlanta, the success which attended his famous "march to the sea," his later contests with Johnston and operations in the Carolinas, added to Thomas' triumph over Hood at Nashville, Farragut's victory at Mobile Bay, and Porter's capture of Fort Fisher, closing the sea to the South—a succession of disasters which boded ill for its cause, and ruin to it when

Sheridan defeated Early near Charlottesville, won the battle of Five Forks, and captured the whole of Ewell's command. All these losses "broke the back of rebellion," while it gave joy to the North, which by this time had re-elected Lincoln and sustained his Administration, and placed increasing forces at Grant's command against Lee and his now fast-dwindling and impoverished army at Petersburg.

Despite the depressing aspect of affairs throughout the South, the heroic Lee maintained unper-
turbed his serene bearing and manner, and re-
tained even a hopeful feeling in his breast ; while
he infected his army with a like sense of security
and hopefulness, and led it ever to manifest its
wonted courage and buoyancy of spirits, with
resignation to its poorly-clad and ill-fed condition.
One who saw Lee at this critical era in the affairs
of the South gives us this description of the
great leader and his indifference to hardship and
mental depression :

"His cheeks were ruddy," writes the observer,
"and his eye had that clear light which indicates
the presence of the calm, self-poised will. But
his hair had grown gray, like his beard and mu-
stache, which were worn short and well-trimmed.

"His dress, as always, was a plain but service

able gray uniform, with no indications of rank save the stars on the collar. Cavalry boots reached nearly to his knees, and he seldom wore any weapon. A broad brimmed, gray felt hat rested low upon the forehead; and the movements of this soldierly figure were as firm, measured, and imposing as ever. It was impossible to discern in General Lee any evidences of impaired strength, or any trace of the wearing hardships through which he had passed. He seemed made of iron, and would remain in the saddle all day, and then at his desk half the night, without apparently feeling any fatigue."

Before the winter set in in its rigor, Grant once more sought to deliver a well-prepared attack on the Confederate right. That flank, which was a long one, rested mainly behind strong entrenchments at Hatcher's Run, beyond what is locally known as the Boydton plank road, close by the South Side R.R. The attacking force, which set out about the end of October, was a formidable one, composed of the bulk of the best fighting element in Grant's army—the 5th and 9th corps, commanded by Warren and Hancock, supported by Gregg's cavalry. Lee met this new movement with his wonted alertness and vigor, and there was need of this, for the expeditionary force sent

out by the Federal lieutenant-general was over 30,000 strong, in addition to 3,000 cavalry. Lee's defensive and offensive reliance, as usual, was upon the commands of Generals A. P. Hill, Heth, and Mahone, and upon the knowledge possessed by the troops of the region, which was chiefly a densely wooded one, full of wild underbrush, of an entangling and obstructing character. The details of the fighting need not detain us, for the conflict was a brief one, with little room for maneuvering or display of tactics. The result was, nevertheless, disastrous to the Federals, the "rebel" position being found too formidable for hasty assault, and the expedition returned to Petersburg the same night. "In the attack," as we learn from General Lee's subsequent Report, "General Mahone broke three lines of battle, captured 700 prisoners, three stands of colors, and six pieces of artillery, the enemy retiring during the night, leaving his wounded and more than 250 dead on the field." The entire loss of the day's operations to the Federals, besides the spoil taken by "the Rebs," was over 1760 men. After this, there were for months no further hostile expeditions set on foot by Grant; only the routine camp duties, enlivened by occasional picket and outpost firing, occupied both armies through the

winter. "On the same day" (Oct. 27, 1864), as Prof. H. A. White, in his Memoir of Lee, relates, "Longstreet celebrated his return to the field by visiting a loss of more than one thousand upon Butler's brigades, who were attempting to creep through the White Oak Swamp into the Richmond defenses."

At this time, Richmond was so uncomfortably menaced by the proximity of Grant's army at Petersburg and his numerically strong cavalry contingent, as well as by the readiness with which Sheridan always manifested his disposition to respond to Grant's call to lead expeditionary forays in the direction of the Southerners' capital, that there was serious thought in the minds of the Confederate Government to retire from it, and, as Lee had suggested, to remove the machinery of administration to Danville. Besides the menace from these sources, there was soon now to be dreaded the coming of Sherman to join Grant's Army of the James, for nothing was deemed more probable than that general, who was then undertaking his vast destroying marches in the South, would fall upon Richmond, now weak in defensive force, and visit it with the sword and the torch. That it had not been captured ere this was due mainly to Lee's constant solicitude on its

account, and to his ready, practical interposition when it was in serious jeopardy from the Federals. Evacuation, unhappily, as it afterwards turned out, came to be ultimately necessary, and an enforced measure of war at the close of the great struggle, when the Confederate capital could do no more for Lee—little really as it had ever been able to do for him who had done so much for it and the South.

Just before the affair at Hatcher's Run, at the close of October (1864), an end had come to General Early's raid in the Valley of the Shenandoah and the threatening of Washington, by the return to camp at Petersburg of that officer. That expedition had been sent out by Lee, not only as a legitimate reprisal foray into the enemy's country and to bring near to the North the peril and harassments of war, in the vast game elsewhere played with such vigor and daring over great parts of the country ; but also to keep at home the forces needed for the protection of the Federal capital, that would otherwise be sent on to the region of the James, to swell the already large army of Grant before Petersburg. To oppose Early's northward expedition, Major-General Sheridan had been transferred from Grant's army, and in August had been given command of what

was known as the Middle Military Division of the United States, with a special eye upon the protection of Washington and the warding off of Confederate raids into Maryland, which had been provoked by the devastations caused by Generals Sigel and Hunter's operations in the Virginia Valley.

Jubal Early had been off on his expedition since the beginning of July, and had created much stir in the North by his repulse of Hunter at Lynchburg and of Lew Wallace at Monocacy, as well as by his despatch of a cavalry force into Pennsylvania, which burned Chambersburg in retaliation for Federal outrages in Virginia. When Hunter had resigned his command and Sheridan was appointed, Lee supplemented Early's force by Kershaw's division of Longstreet's corps and by Fitzhugh Lee's division of cavalry, both under General Anderson, to coöperate with Early, who was then in some jeopardy at Strasburg, and in need of reënforcements. The combined forces of Anderson and Early were united at Winchester, where they drove the Federals from the place back upon Harper's Ferry and the Maryland Heights. Later on, Anderson, with Kershaw's division, was ordered by Lee to Culpeper Court House ; while Early, who was still at Winchester,

was directed to protect the Virginia Central Railroad from attack, and to make free with the harvests, then ready for the sickle, in the Shenandoah Valley, at the same time to be within call should Lee require his return to Petersburg.

At the period (now the middle of September), Sheridan and his command, which was strong in horse, moved from his position at Berryville, south of Harper's Ferry, and soon encountered Early at Winchester. Here, the latter had a force only of 11,000 or 12,000 men (8,500 muskets and 3,000 sabers), while Sheridan's opposing strength was nearly three times as large. At Winchester, in spite of the great disparity in numbers, battle was given by the impetuous Early, and to his grievous loss, for 2,500 of his force was captured by Sheridan ; while he and his command had to fall back, hotly pressed by Sheridan, to Fisher's Hill, close to Strasburg. Here battle was again given, this time by the Federal leader, who once more defeated Early, with a loss of many guns and a large part of his command ; while Early was now compelled to seek safety in the lower passes of the Blue Ridge Mountains. Sheridan not only pursued his Confederate antagonist, but sent a force forward to get on his rear and cut

off his continued retreat. On the track of Early, Sheridan advanced as far as Staunton, and withdrew behind Cedar Creek, to wreck the Virginia Central railroad, and ruthlessly to ravage and lay waste the Shenandoah Valley. This he did not only by laying hands on and appropriating all animal life in the region belonging to the farmers and settlers in the Valley, but by destroying the grain and forage with which the barns were at the time filled, and burning a great number of mills, and a vast quantity of agricultural implements. This destruction of everything of value belonging to noncombatants and the desolating of the entire region were acts, surely, of a despicable and inhuman character, which one would not expect to find committed by an otherwise honored and gallant soldier. No plea of acts justified by war can or ought to pardon such an outrage ; and the remembrance of the horrid deeds cannot fail to stain the memory of the man who was guilty of them, even under superior orders.

While these atrocities were being committed, Early's command was reunited with Kershaw's division, which partly made good the general's losses, and emboldened him to renew the fighting at Cedar Creek, where Sheridan's army was

posted behind strong entrenchments. The Federal command, for the time being, was assumed by General Wright, owing to the temporary absence of Sheridan. Wright's chief aides were Generals Ricketts, Emory, and Crook, who commanded, respectively, the U. S. 6th, 8th, and 19th corps; while the cavalry was under Averill, Custer, and Merritt. This was the situation on the 18th of October (1864), when General Early stole quickly over night towards the north fork of the Shenandoah, which he forced with his command, and silently moved at dawn on the 19th upon the Federal camp (Crook's) at Cedar Creek. Here he took the enemy by surprise, captured many hundreds of them, (besides seizing eighteen heavy guns), and drove the remainder of the camp that escaped, in a panic-stricken mass, down the Valley Turnpike. "To rally the men in their bewilderment was impossible," observes Mr. W. Swinton, in his record of the Cedar Creek fight, in his "Campaigns of the Army of the Potomac," "and Crook's corps, being thoroughly broken up, fled in disorder, leaving many guns in the hands of the enemy. As soon as this flank attack was developed, Early, with his other column, emerged from behind the hills west of Cedar Creek, and, crossing that stream, struck directly the troops

on the right of Crook. This served to complete the disaster, and the whole Union left and center became a confused mass, against which the Confederates directed the captured artillery, while the flanking force swept forward to the main turnpike. Such was the scene on which the light of day dawned. The only force not yet involved in the enemy's onset was the Sixth corps, which by its position was somewhat in rear. With this General Ricketts quickly executed a change of front, throwing it forward at right angles to its former position, and firmly withstood the enemy's shock. Its chief service, however, was to cover the general retreat which Wright now ordered, as the only practicable means of reuniting his force. . . .

"At the first good position between Middletown and Newtown, Wright was able to rally and re-form the troops, form a compact line, and prepare either to resist further attack or himself assume the offensive. It was at this time, about half-past ten A.M., that General Sheridan arrived upon the field from Winchester, where he had slept the previous night. Hearing '(at day-break, twenty miles away)' the distant sounds of battle rolling up from the south, Sheridan rode post-haste to the front, where, arriving, his

electric manner had on the troops a very inspiriting effect. General Wright had already brought order out of confusion, and made dispositions for attack. . . . A counter-charge was begun at three o'clock in the afternoon. . . . A large part of Early's force, in the intoxication of success, had abandoned their colors and taken to plundering the abandoned Federal camps. The refluent wave was as resistless as the Confederate surge had been. . . . The retreat soon became a rout. . . . In the pursuit, all the captured guns were retaken, and twenty-three in addition. The captures included, besides, nearly 1,500 prisoners. . . . With this defeat of Early all operations of moment in the Shenandoah ended," and the bulk of the troops on either side were recalled to Petersburg.

The inglorious termination of the battle of Cedar Creek, by the misconduct of the men of Early's command, was, naturally, most mortifying to that general, and drew from him, three days after the affair occurred, a sharp but now futile reprimand. In his address to his troops, General Early pointed out that all the benefits of the victory gained had been lost and a serious disaster incurred ; adding that had they remained steadfast to their duty and their colors, the battle

would have been "one of the most brilliant and decisive of the war." "But," continues the general in his address, "many of you, including some commissioned officers, yielding to a disgraceful propensity for plunder, deserted your colors to appropriate to yourselves the abandoned property of the enemy, and subsequently those who had previously remained at their posts, seeing their ranks thinned by the absence of the plunderers, when the enemy, late in the afternoon, with his shattered columns, made but a feeble effort to retrieve the fortunes of the day, yielded to a needless panic and fled the field in confusion, thereby converting a splendid victory into a disaster."

The Shenandoah Valley having been made a waste, most of the Confederate troops were either recalled to Petersburg or transferred, as Breckinridge's division was, to Southwestern Virginia; while Early was left at Staunton, with but the remains of Wharton's division. In the Spring of 1865, notwithstanding his past services, Early was relieved of his command, when at Franklin Court House, Va., so continued was the outcry against him for the mishap in the Valley, and the breach of discipline he had been so conspicuously and disastrously unable to check in the men

that had composed the expedition. In taking the step of relieving Early of his duties, General Lee, in the letter he sent him on the occasion, was most sympathetic and conciliatory, being careful not to wound unnecessarily the old general's feelings ; while he thanked him for the fidelity and courage shown by him in always supporting his (Lee's) efforts, and for the devotion he had ever manifested in the service of the South.

Meanwhile, the North had been putting forth great efforts to bring the conflict with the South to a close, and that not only at Petersburg but elsewhere, which she was now well able to do, so vast were her resources of men and material. At Petersburg, the winter months had been most trying to Lee and his long-strung-out, but now greatly thinned, as well as much famished, army ; while Grant's forces were at this time well-fed and cared for, having been recruited up to 120,000 men, nearly three times the number of serviceable troops his opponent had at his command. Lee and his veterans in gray were, however, still filled with the old invincible spirit that had long animated them, in spite of their gaunt and ill-clad condition, and the now dark prospect of their lovingly espoused and warmly cherished cause. Pitiful is it to read of Lee's

appeals to Richmond at this period for the necessities of life for his troops, for the requisites of shelter and clothing, in an inclement season, for his men, and even for forage for his horses—appeals that were indifferently heeded by the Commissary Department at the Southern capital, and as indifferently doled out. Under the circumstances, need surprise be felt at the desertions that were now prevalent in the ranks, and that conscription resulted in practically no additions to the strength of the army ; while the proposition was now rife to arm the slaves, though to do so and bring them to the front would be but to add more stomachs to be filled or go empty, and, if the latter, aggravate rather than relieve the situation at Petersburg. The necessity of insisting upon Lee's remaining where he was, for the protection of Richmond and the defense of its key-position, Petersburg, seemed cruel, while the region was so little able to feed his army, and when there was urgent need of his services in other parts of the menaced Confederacy, where he might, and doubtless would, have turned the scale in the fortune of war to greater advantage to himself and the common cause. Whoever was responsible for this course being adhered to, the blame of it does not attach to General Lee, though he

loyally did what he could where he was kept ; the blame rather attaches to the Confederate Administration, among whom, as we know, there was not over much harmony at its council-board and not a little want of acumen in failing to see what, broadly and at large, was for the best for Southern interests.

At this juncture of affairs in the South, when Grant had refused to allow any more exchanges of prisoners, and President Lincoln had issued his call for 300,000 additional volunteers with which to prosecute the war, the North encouraged the Hon. Francis P. Blair, of Maryland, to open negotiations for a conference with representatives of the Confederate Government, seeking to put an end to hostilities. The conference, it was understood, was to be of an informal character, and with the single view of discovering whether it was possible to influence the South to listen to overtures of peace. A meeting took place, known as the Hampton Roads Peace Conference, three Southern commissioners (Messrs. A. H. Stephens, J. A. Campbell, and R. M. T. Hunter) being permitted to pass the Federal lines early in February, 1865, and proceed to Fortress Monroe, Va., where a confab was had with Secretary of State Seward, and, later, with President Lincoln, but

which ended without practical results. Though this was the case, it is worth while noting the simple and liberal conditions on which the North was prepared to make peace with her "erring sister" of the South. These were: 1, "The restoration of the national authority throughout all the States; 2, No receding by the Executive of the United States on the slavery question from the position assumed thereon in the late annual Message to Congress, and in preceding documents; and 3, No cessation of hostilities short of an end of the war and the disbanding of all forces hostile to the Government."

With the failure of this conference and the continued stress of a forlorn situation, together with the inability of the Confederate Government and Congress to do anything to improve the outlook, or even provide for the sustenance of the army at Petersburg, Lee's position was a clouded and hopeless one, though, at the period, as it was practically admitted by all, he was the only general left in the field in whom the South had still confidence, and to whom it might yet assuringly look to accomplish anything. Now, however, it was manifestly too late for aught to be done to save the Confederacy, even though our hero was at this juncture given the titular com-

mand of all its armies. To give Lee now the rank of lieutenant-general, with supreme command over all the Southern armies in the field, independent of the control of President Davis, was little else than a farce, since the Richmond Government could not relieve or replace him at Petersburg; and neither did it, or could it now, increase or even feed his forces there, so that he might continue the conflict with any semblance or hope of success. Though the condition of affairs was now such—the Confederacy having become utterly shattered and incapable of further effort—Lee accepted the proffered honor, and, late as it was, he steeled his heart anew to undertake what was possible under the circumstances. The one object, at this crisis, he had in view, was, if practicable, to effect a junction with the command of his old colleague, General J. E. Johnston, who, with his Army of the Tennessee, had been opposing, though with ill-success, General Sherman in North Carolina, and whom he hoped to join as he came toward Virginia with his still considerable force.

The doings of General Johnston from the period when he was assigned to the Department of the Southwest, through the era of the Federal invasion of Georgia and the operations in the Carolinas, do not, we are aware, of course, belong to

the story we are here dealing with in connection with General Lee. But as these operations form an important part of the story of the Civil War, and are in themselves replete with interest, we have deemed it proper to give some brief record of them in these pages, so far, at least, as they are connected with the movements of Johnston, and his successor Hood, in attempting to oppose those of General Sherman, after the latter had launched his attack upon Atlanta. With the early portions of the story that preceded the Atlanta campaign we have already dealt—with that part, at least, when, after the raising of the siege of Chattanooga, and fighting the battle at Lookout Mountain, the army of Bragg was routed, and its commander was replaced by General J. E. Johnston. About the same time, Grant was given command of all the armies of the Union, and proceeded to the James River, to take charge with Meade of the operations against Lee and Beauregard at Petersburg. Some few months later (at the close of June, 1864), Johnston gave battle to Sherman and his lieutenants Thomas, Schofield, and McPherson at Kenesaw, Ga., and won the fight, inflicting a considerable loss upon the Federals. In spite of this success, Johnston retired across the Chattahoochee River and took up a position

southward, at Peach Tree Creek, which he proceeded to entrench. At this period, the Confederate Government, being dissatisfied with Johnston, removed him from his command and appointed in his place General J. B. Hood, who had fought under Lee at Gettysburg and under Bragg at Chickamauga. Abandoning the defensive policy of his predecessor, Johnston, Hood fought a desperate engagement with Hooker, but was defeated with heavy loss. He then retired within the lines of Atlanta City, still fighting hard, and attacking whenever he could the veterans of Sherman's Army of the Tennessee. The commander of the latter (McPherson) having been killed, General Howard took his place, and sought, with the assistance of Schofield and Thomas, to break through the investing lines of Atlanta, and at the same time cut the railroad in the vicinity over which Hood drew his supplies for the city's garrison. The entrenchments of Atlanta, the Federals found, however, were too strong for them to carry, and Hood, elated at this, made several sallies upon the enemy, in one of which, occurring on the 28th of July, he met with disaster, losing over 4,600 men. About a month later, Sherman made a movement south of Atlanta to Jonesboro, held by the Confederates,

but not fortified, his design being not only to capture the place, but to draw Hood from his strongly protected works at Atlanta. In this, Sherman was successful, for it enabled him, in Hood's absence, to take and occupy Atlanta; while Hood, with his 40,000 of an army, took up temporary quarters at Lovejoy's Station, on the Savannah railroad, about 30 miles southwest of the city.

Hood's evacuation of Atlanta, though it gave his opponent possession of the city, yet enabled him sharply to harass Sherman's long-strung-out line of communications, reaching from Atlanta back into Tennessee. To protect these, the Federal commander, still holding on to Atlanta, sent the bulk of his army north-westward; but before doing so he cleared the city of its inhabitants, sending them off rather ruthlessly, as he designed to make of Atlanta a military post exclusively, to be held by General Thomas and his command. This act naturally aroused loud and angry protests from the city's magistrates and the populace, to which, however, Sherman was indifferent, though he offered to make exclusion from the city as little irksome to its people as was possible under the circumstances. In his mind at this period, Sherman was engrossed

with his contemplated project of a "march to the sea," so as to secure a strong base of operations in the east before setting out on his projected invasion of and lengthened expeditionary raid northward, through Georgia and the Carolinas, back to Virginia, there to reach Grant before Petersburg and fall upon Lee's army from the rear. The accomplishment of this design of Sherman, as that of a born raider, took captive the imagination of the North; while it was rendered comparatively easy, as well as safe, by the paralysis that had now fallen upon the South, which made the march through the region an almost wholly unopposed one. The paralysis throughout the Confederacy was increased at this period not only by the breaking up of the interior lines of travel and communication in the South, as a consequence of Federal invasion, but by the capture of Mobile by Farragut, followed by that of Fort Fisher, and by the capture or destruction of the Confederate cruisers and blockade-runners at sea, which, with the depletion of the Richmond treasury, lopped off all supplies from abroad, and put an end to hope of interposition by the neutral Powers of Europe.

In such a conjunction of events adverse to the South, with the terrible drain upon her resources

of men and material occasioned by the long and devastating war, Sherman's gay but ruthless "march to the sea," and back through the once rich and populous States of the now exhausted Confederacy, was, as we have said, a naturally unopposed one, while it led to further prostration and despondency throughout the South. The record of the incidents in the bold expedition of Sherman to found a strong base by the Atlantic, in addition to the possession and occupation of Atlanta, need not long detain us. Leaving General Thomas, with a force of 27,000, behind to defend Atlanta and keep watch upon General Hood, Sherman set out with 70,000 men in the middle of November and reached and occupied Savannah before Christmas (1864) Thomas, meanwhile, continued at Atlanta inactive till he should be strengthened by the arrival of an expected force under General James H. Wilson, which, when received, raised his total command to 55,000 ; while Hood at this time had but 40,000, all told, to pit against Thomas, exclusive of a small contingent of Georgia militia. It was now Hood's intention to move to the rear of Atlanta, and there to tear up the railway tracks between the latter city and the Chattahoochee, and afterwards to move upon

Bridgeport and destroy the great bridge which spans the Tennessee River at that point. Hood's purpose in this was to isolate Atlanta from Chattanooga and Nashville, and thus make the place a barren conquest to Thomas, and his chief, Sherman, as a base of supply and of future operation. The details of this design of Hood are interestingly given by William Jowett Tenney, in his "Military and Naval History of the Rebellion" (New York, 1866).

"A week sufficed to complete General Hood's arrangements," writes Mr. Tenney, "and by the 2nd of October his army was across the Chattahoochee and on the march to Dallas, where the different corps were directed to concentrate. At this point he was enabled to threaten Rome and Kingston, as well as the fortified places on the railroad to Chattanooga; and there remained open, in case of defeat, a line of retreat southwest into Alabama. From Dallas he advanced east toward the railroad, and on the 4th captured the insignificant stations of Big Shanty and Ackworth, effecting a thorough destruction of the road between the two places. He also sent a division under General French to capture the Federal post at Allatoona Pass, where he had ascertained that a million and a half of rations

for the Federal army were stored, on which he probably depended to replenish his commissariat."

Upon learning that Hood had crossed the Chattahoochee, Sherman, resumes Mr. Tenney, "despatched General Corse with reënforcements to Rome, which place he supposed the enemy were aiming at. During the previous week he had sent General Thomas with troops to Nashville to look after Forrest. His bridges having meanwhile been carried away by a freshet which filled the Chattahoochee, he was unable to move his main body until the 4th, when three pontoons were laid down, over which the armies of the Cumberland, the Tennessee, and the Ohio crossed, and took up their march in the direction of Marietta, with fifteen days' rations. The 20th corps, General Slocum, was left to garrison Atlanta."

Rome, as it turned out, however, was not the objective point, which Hood, or rather the Confederate column of General French, was aiming at, but Allatoona ; and here French appeared on the 5th of October and summoned the Federal commander (General Corse) to surrender. This was at once refused, for General Sherman, when the action began, having reached the summit of Kenesaw Mountain from there signalled his subordinate to "hold out to the last," and, that

he might do so, he promised to send him succor. Thus assured, the Federal defender of the town repulsed the Confederate attack, though a vigorous cannonade wrecked much of the city and killed a large number of Federal artillery and cavalry horses, besides destroying a considerable portion of the railway in the immediate neighborhood. The Confederates finally withdrew, though not before they had lost close upon 800 men in the attack, including prisoners captured by the enemy.

After this, Hood's command retreated in the direction of Dalton, Ga., and on the way northward continued the destruction of the railroad, and generally devastating the region. By the 14th of the month, Hood reached Dalton, but, finding Sherman close upon his heels, he withdrew to Lafayette, thence southwesterly into Alabama, in which State he halted at Gadsden, on the Coosa river, where he met reënforcements under General Beauregard, who by this time had been appointed to the chief command of the Confederate Military Division of the West. From Gadsden, the Confederate double command continued the retreat as far as Warrington, on the Tennessee River, General Sherman pursuing the Confederate columns as far as Gaylesville, where the Federal commander halted. Whatever might

have been the result of Hood's movement, Mr. Tenney concludes by affirming that "it entirely failed to interrupt the Federal communications to a degree that would compel the evacuation of Atlanta. . . In the light of subsequent events," the historian-critic adds, "it would now appear that General Sherman, making only a show of following his adversary, deliberately lured him into Northern Alabama, for the purpose of pursuing an interrupted march with his own army through the heart of Georgia. The ill-advised plan of General Hood had given him the very opportunity which he desired, and he prepared at once to avail himself of it."

CHAPTER XVI.

OPERATIONS IN GEORGIA, TENNESSEE, AND THE CAROLINAS IN THE WINTER OF 1864-65.

AFTER the flight and repulse of the Confederates at Allatoona, we have seen that, menaced by Sherman's pursuing army, Hood withdrew his command first into Northern Alabama, and after a junction with a small force under Beauregard crossed into Tennessee. The area of effective fighting left to the Confederacy was now fast narrowing; while the operations of Sherman, Thomas, and other Federal commanders in the Southern tier of states from the Gulf and the Mississippi northward and eastward also narrowed the area of support, in men and supplies, to what remained of the Southern fighting force in Virginia, in the region of the James. Not a little of the result of this was due to the success of Sherman in capturing Atlanta and undertaking his renowned "march to the sea." Other disasters were yet to befall the South, in Tennessee.

see, in Schofield's defeat of Hood at Franklin, and the wiping out of his command by Thomas at Nashville ; in North Carolina, in the repulse of Hardee's corps of Johnston's command by Sherman at Averysboro ; in the fall of Fort Fisher and the capture and occupation of Wilmington ; and in the victory of Sherman over Johnston at Bentonville ; besides the burning, in South Carolina, of Columbia, and the enforced evacuation of Charleston. Of these disasters, we shall give a brief running account, to enable the reader to follow the military history of the closing months of the Confederacy, and so prepare him for the collapse of the Southern cause in Lee's defeat by Sheridan at Five Forks, Va., his retreat from Petersburg, and the final end of the Civil War in the surrender at Appomattox.

After the occupation of Atlanta and the fight at Allatoona, when Sherman saw that the Confederate cause in Georgia and the South was an empty shell, that General began to realize that his purpose of founding a Federal base of supplies and action on the seaboard at Savannah was a safe and practical one, he at once prepared to set forth on his now historic "march to the sea," having previously gained General Grant's consent to the undertaking of the project. Divest-

ing himself, in the middle of November (1864), of all military impediments, and disencumbering his command of all sick, disabled, and weak men, as well as of all hangers-on and stragglers, Sherman set forth on his expedition with an army of 60,000 efficient and intelligent men, his objective point being the port of Savannah, Georgia. At the outset, the gallant leader had not intimated to his army the object of their march, the General Orders simply and curtly stating to his command that "it is sufficient for you to know that it involves a departure from our present base (Atlanta,) and a long, difficult march to a new one." As the army was expected to live on the country they were to pass through, the force was to be burdened by no supply-train, each brigade furnishing its own company to procure forage and supplies for the general need. The men were cautioned against entering private dwellings or committing trespass ; while no property was to be destroyed or people by the way molested, where the troops were not interfered with on the march. The only encumbrances permitted were the necessary ammunition wagons and ambulances, and one wagon for food and fodder for each regiment. The separate columns were to begin their march each day at seven o'clock, after breakfast, and were

expected to make fifteen miles progress each day. Only the railroads were to be destroyed by the way, such at least as were used for transporting men and supplies to the various sections of the Southern army in the North. In the march, which occupied twenty-seven days to reach Savannah, no serious opposition was encountered, though many attempts were made to harass the command and impede its progress. Supplies along the line of march were abundant, so that the army reached the coast with its men and horses in the best possible condition. Besides General Sherman in the chief command, there were with him, in charge of the two wings of the army, Generals Howard and Slocum, the former commanding the right wing, composed of the 15th and 17th corps, and the latter the left wing, consisting of the 14th and 20th corps; while General Kilpatrick was in command of the cavalry. As the expedition came to Milledgeville, where the Georgia legislature was then in session, that body passed an Act to levy the population of the state *en masse*; this, however, had no effect on the fear-stricken people of the town, who fled from it, with the governor, state officers, and city magistrates, on the entrance into it of the Union general, his aides, and body-

guard, to take up their night's quarters in the executive mansion.

With the exception of some brushes with the Georgia State troops on the way, and occasional rearguard fights between Kilpatrick's and Wheeler's cavalry commands, no other impeding incidents occurred until the expedition reached the Ogeechee River, which was stormed and speedily taken by Hazen's division, and communication was at once opened with the Union Admiral (Dahlgren) and General Foster, in command at Port Royal. By the 17th of December, the force reached the defenses of Savannah, when Sherman summoned the Confederate commander, Gen. Hardee, to surrender. The response was the flight, on the night of the 20th, of the entire Confederate garrison of the city, when the gallant raider and his elated command entered it to enjoy a well-earned rest. Two days later, General Sherman telegraphed President Lincoln at Washington : "I beg to present you, as a Christmas gift, the city of Savannah, with 150 heavy guns and abundance of ammunition, together with about 25,000 bales of cotton !"

Resting at Savannah for over a month, the January rains preventing his moving from the place earlier, Sherman set out on February 1st on

his northward march with his army. The return march, which was a more arduous one than that of the advance to the coast, owing to the swampy condition of the country after the season's heavy rains, took Sherman designedly by way of the Carolinas, so that he might more effectively menace General Lee's communications with the region. With his columns headed in the direction of Columbia, S.C., Sherman, on the 17th of February, entered that capital of the State without opposition, its small cavalry garrison having abandoned the place on the approach of the Federal troops. Before withdrawing, the Confederates had massed the city's treasure of cotton and set fire to it, the blazing pile, fanned by a prevailing high wind, doing much damage to the city, in spite of the efforts of the Federals to quench the fire and save public property. When the troops succeeded in suppressing the flames, the onward march was resumed, but not before the city's arsenals and railway plant were, by Sherman's orders, destroyed, though all "harmless private property" was respected and saved from destruction. The menace of Sherman's presence in the State had its effect at this period upon the seaport of Charleston, and led to its evacuation by the Confederates, after a

lengthened siege and heavy bombardment by the Federals.

For a time after the march north-eastward was resumed, no opposition was met with, for Beauregard's cavalry command, then in the State, had withdrawn to Charlotte, N. C.; while the new force, under J. E. Johnston (who had been reappointed to command in the region), had not yet been reached. Sherman's course now lay in the direction of Fayetteville, whence it was his design to make for the important railroad center of Goldsboro, N. C., due north from Wilmington. At Fayetteville, his force was joined by 10,000 men of Thomas's army under Schofield, who had just taken Wilmington, following up Terry's capture of Fort Fisher (Jan. 13, 1865), which cost the South a loss of 2,500 men in the attack on and storming of the citadel. On the way to Goldsboro, the Federal raiding columns had some sharp fighting with Hardee's division of Confederate cavalry, which attempted to check Sherman's advance, aided by a force of 10,000 infantry; while Johnston's army (now about 40,000 strong), was within comparative reach in the vicinity of Bentonville.

On the 15th of March, Hardee gave Sherman battle at Averysboro, N. C., on Cape Fear river,

forty miles south of Raleigh. Here Hardee had entrenched his command, to oppose Sherman and to allow Johnston time to concentrate his forces, which he was then doing at Smithfield, so as to make an obstinate stand against the advancing column of Federal raiders. The affair at Averysboro lasted all day, and was a sanguinary one (Sherman losing 600 in killed and wounded); and at nightfall—the Confederates withdrew behind their interior lines of defense. In the morning, the Federals found that the enemy had silently retired from the place, and had fallen back to Smithfield, all save a few men, who became Sherman's prisoners. The expedition then pursued its way towards Goldsboro: but at Bentonville, within seventeen miles from that center, the left wing of the army, under General Slocum, encountered Johnston's command on the morning of the 19th, Johnston here being tempted to attack a portion of the advance expeditionary force before the bulk of it reached the spot. Slocum, taken by surprise, at first fell back; but, rallying, he made a stout stand and sheltered his force behind hastily thrown up rifle-pits, Kilpatrick's cavalry enabling him effectively to do so. As Johnston failed to dislodge the Federals from their defensive line, and, fearing the approach of Sherman's other columns,

he, too, began to fortify his position, meantime making several forceful attacks upon the foe. On the morning of the 21st, Sherman's right wing came upon the scene, and the day was spent in pressing Johnston hard on three sides of his position and close up to his works. As the day's fighting had cost him heavy losses, Johnston deemed it more tactical to retreat from the place, which he did over night, withdrawing to Smithfield and Raleigh. The Confederate losses at Bentonville were heavy, amounting to close upon 2,000 in killed and wounded, besides 670 taken prisoners. The Federal loss was upward of 1,650, in killed, wounded, and missing. Early on the 22nd inst., Sherman's columns moved on to Goldsboro, whither Schofield's command had preceded them from Fayetteville, and after that general had occupied Wilmington (Feb. 22), and fought the battle of Kinston, N. C. (March 8-10). Here, at Goldsboro, practically ended Sherman's great march, though we find him later (April 13) at Raleigh, and towards the end of that month, after Lee's surrender at Appomattox, it was Sherman who received the surrender of General J. E. Johnston's army, on the terms accorded to Lee by General Grant. A month later, Sherman reached Washington, where he was received with great *éclat*, and where,

after a grand review of his army, the latter was disbanded ; while he himself was given command of the Military Division of the Mississippi, and subsequently that of Missouri, with the rank of lieutenant-general.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE CLOSE OF THE LONG STRUGGLE.

THE South at this juncture of affairs was now *in extremis*; her chief seaports, as we have seen, were either captured or closely blockaded, and her cotton, the chief commodity of exchange with Europe, could get no outlet; while her financial credit was gone, Confederate paper money at the period being so valueless that it took \$500 to purchase a pair of army boots. Nor was the situation in Virginia any less hopeless, for Lee could get no substantial addition to his now dwindled command, or food or pay for his men; while after Johnston's defeat at Bentonville, Sherman was in the main free to menace Lee's army from the South. Emancipation for the slave, moreover, had so altered the condition of labor in the South that this became extremely irksome to the planter; while the recruiting of the negro, and his enrolment in Northern regiments, added to the despondency, and even despair, now manifesting itself throughout the Confederacy. The sole reliance

at this crisis was still in General Lee and his veterans on the James, and what he was able to do—little as it could possibly be—he, we may be certain, would surely accomplish. Certain it is, that our hero was the one public man whom the South unqualifiedly believed in and trusted ; whose abilities, of a rare and uncommon order, everywhere elicited the highest commendation ; whose integrity was unimpeachable ; and who, moreover,—despite the pall of darkness that now hung over the country—continued ever hopeful and buoyant, as well as devotedly loyal, and sincerely desirous of helping to a favorable issue the cause which every leal Southerner had in his inmost heart.

How earnestly Lee strove at this time to dispel despondency and check desertions from the ranks, as well as to give tone to public sentiment favorable to the Southern cause, may be seen from the appended letter which the General, towards the close of February (1865), addressed to Governor Vance of North Carolina. The period is that when Sherman was conducting his spirited raid through the Carolinas, and this was evidently in Lee's mind when he wrote, as perhaps the chief inciting cause of the prevailing despondency. Here is the letter :

"The state of despondency that now prevails among our people is producing a bad effect upon the troops. Desertions are becoming very frequent, and there is good reason to believe that they are occasioned, to a considerable extent, by letters written to the soldiers by their friends at home. . . I think some good can be accomplished by the efforts of influential citizens to change public sentiment, and cheer the hearts of the people. It has been discovered that despondent persons represent to their friends in the army that our cause is hopeless, and that they had better provide for themselves. They state that the number of deserters is so large in the several counties that there is no danger to be apprehended from the home-guard. The deserters generally take their arms with them : the greater number are from regiments from the western part of the State. So far as the despondency of the people occasions this sad condition of affairs, I know of no other means of removing it than by the counsel and exhortation of prominent citizens. If they would explain to the people that the cause is not hopeless, that the situation of affairs, though critical, is so to the enemy as well as ourselves, that he has drawn his troops from every other quarter to accomplish his designs against Rich-

mond, and that his defeat now would result in leaving nearly our whole territory open to us ; that this great result can be accomplished if all will work diligently, and that his successes are far less valuable in fact than in appearance,—I think our sorely tried people would be induced to make one more effort to bear their sufferings a little longer, and regain some of the spirit that marked the first two years of the war.”

Alas ! this hopeful, inspiring, and eminently patriotic letter was a fruitless one, as the Southern cause was now fast becoming “a lost cause,” which the events of the following four or five weeks were emphatically to prove. Yet, manifestly, it might have been otherwise, had all in the Confederacy been as earnest and strenuous in the purpose to make it a successful, rather than a lost, cause, as was Robert E. Lee ; and had the Fates been less adverse in environing him and his veterans on the James, as they were environed, not only by the numerically superior forces of Grant, but by the returning to the latter’s command of Sheridan and his most efficient cavalry force, and by the approaching from the south of Sherman’s army, flush with victory, and strong in the success that had attended his march through the heart of the Confederacy.

In spite of the menacing aspect of affairs, Lee, nevertheless, was full of the hope of yet brightening the situation for his section of the country, by, if possible, effecting a union with General J.E. Johnston's command in North Carolina, and there falling upon Sherman and his army on their way North—thus abandoning Petersburg and Richmond, while the Confederate Government, as Lee desired, was to remove from the Virginia capital to Danville, on the southern frontier of the State, and there reestablish itself and the Confederate Administration. To the achieving of the purpose which lay deep in the heart and mind of the heroic leader, Heaven, we shall presently see, was not propitious ; though what was possible for Lee to do, in at least staving off for a while the end, which was soon now to come, he bravely and untiringly sought to accomplish.

Meanwhile, Lee's great adversary, Grant, was alert in his attitude towards the critical Southern situation—one which, he tells us in his “Personal Memoirs,” was the most anxious period of his experience during the Rebellion—as he saw that it would result in Lee's retirement from Petersburg, and the abandonment of Richmond, both of which he properly under-

took to prevent, or tactically to checkmate. With the approach of Spring (1865), and the drying up of the roads along the thirty odd miles of the offensive and defensive lines about Petersburg, each of the respective generals in chief command was preparing for decisive action, an account of which it now becomes our duty to relate.

On the Southern side, the month of March, which had by this time come, brought matters to a crisis in evolving plans for the evacuation of Petersburg and its defenses by Lee, and the withdrawal of the remains of his army (now only about 30,000 in number) to the mountain regions of the South. Here, as we have already mentioned, he hoped to effect a junction with Johnston, and thus put himself in a better position to cope with Grant and the converging columns under Sherman, whose combined strength, at this time, would be more than 230,000 effective men. Before setting out from Petersburg, Lee, however, projected an assault on Grant's center line, at a vulnerable position on the south side of the Appomattox, protected by the Federal Fort Stedman. The assault was made by the Second Confederate corps, under General Gordon, supported, or intended to be supported, by a part of Longstreet's division and other contin-

gents of the "rebel" army. The attack began at dawn on the 25th of March, and when Gordon's storming party issued forth it rapidly crossed the Federal entrenchments and captured the Fort. Here, however, it was exposed to a heavy Federal fire from the forts on either side of it, which the attacking force was unable to silence; nor was it able to take them, owing to the tardy coming up of the supports, which were designed not only to reënforce the storming party, but to move on and take a strong position held by the enemy on the heights in rear of Fort Stedman. The tardiness in the arrival of the supports proved fatal to the whole movement, as advantage was instantly taken of the pause that ensued upon the seizure of and flight of the Federals from the Fort to pour a deadly fire from the ridge-crest in rear upon Gordon's assaulting column. Demoralization in the latter was the result, followed by a stampede of all the Confederates in the Fort and its immediate vicinity; while the Federals, having now recovered from their surprise at the unexpected seizure and occupation of the Fort, came back in force and retook the citadel, capturing about 2,000 of the assaulting columns. Besides the captured, the Confederates lost in the attack nearly 1,000 in

killed and wounded ; while the Federal loss all told, was close upon 2,000. A further Confederate loss, before the day's operations were over, was a portion of Lee's defense line nearest to the enemy. This, in the confusion that followed the repulse from Fort Stedman, had been snatched from the " rebel " pickets, though only after a stubborn resistance. The counter-attack and advance of the Federal lines was done at the bidding, and with the oversight, of General Meade.

Anticipating that the Confederates, after the failure of the assault on Fort Stedman, would abandon their lines at Petersburg and retire from the place, Grant took the precaution to instruct his several cavalry commands to carefully guard all roads by which Lee might seek to withdraw his army ; while he was himself increasingly watchful of every movement, or sign of movement, along the enemy's far-extended lines. Beyond this, Grant had formed designs against the Confederate right, and that by a massed movement to his own left in great force. In this he was aided by Sheridan, with his cavalry division, after that skilled raider's destroying march through Central Virginia, and who, with his command, had returned to duty at Petersburg,

or rather, near by, at Dinwiddie Court-House. The Federal assault was arranged for the 29th of March, when General Ord (Butler's successor), who had previously been sent out, with three divisions of infantry and McKenzie's cavalry, to the extreme left of Grant's line, was to coöperate with Generals Warren and Humphreys, with the Second and Fifth Union corps, in an advance, by way of Hatcher's Run, upon Five Forks. Here they were instructed to seize the South Side railroad, over which Lee received his army's meager supplies, and also fall upon the Danville railroad. At Five Forks, Sheridan was simultaneously to arrive and there take part in falling upon the Confederate right.

While these designs were being carried out against Lee's right flank, General Wright's corps was to make a concerted assault upon the weakened Confederate center. Much of the entire movement was, however, delayed for several days by heavy rains and the consequently bad state of the roads, over which it was found extremely difficult to move the Federal artillery ; it was also harassed by constant conflicts with the watchful Confederate cavalry. Especially did Sheridan suffer from the latter, as well as from the attacks of the "rebel" unmounted men, by whom, in

fact, he was driven from Five Forks back to Dinwiddie, where he called upon Grant to send him assistance. The Federal leader met his request by despatching Warren and his command to him, but the latter was so dilatory in his movements that he was relieved of his command of the Fifth corps, and its control was given to Griffin. With Griffin's assistance, Sheridan now renewed his assault upon the Confederates, chiefly under Pickett and Bushrod Johnson, at Five Forks, where, on April 1st, Pickett was outflanked and beaten by Sheridan. The situation was now a forlorn one for Lee, who, nevertheless, stoutly braced himself to cope with the difficulties of the position, as well as to enhearten his troops, already wearied with the burden of guarding a defense line thirty miles in length, and that, for the most part, on ill-filled stomachs and amid every discomfort from the raw, wet weather.

When the assault on the Confederate center (in front of Petersburg) was developed, the position of things became desperate, for that portion of Lee's attenuated line had been greatly weakened to protect his menaced right flank, which, by this time, "had been torn from its position and hurled back." An all-night bombardment of the Southern entrenchments and the city of Petersburg

found the Confederates, on the morning of April 2nd, in little condition further to hold its position, far less to meet, with accustomed "rebel" bravery and vigor, the general assault which was now about to be made. Nevertheless, as is stated in an authority (that of J. D. McCabe, in his "Life and campaigns of Robert E. Lee"), "General Lee was resolved to make one more effort to save the city."

From the source just named, we extract an interesting account of the battle that ensued. "Sunday, the 2nd of April, dawned bright and clear. With the first light of morning the Federal columns of attack advanced upon the Southern works, and the engagement quickly spread along the whole line from the Appomattox to Hatcher's Run. The left of the Southern position rested on the Appomattox, and was held by General Gordon's corps. This weak force was attacked by the 9th Federal corps, under General Parke, and after a brief but gallant struggle the Confederates gave way, and the enemy carried the outer line. Gordon's troops fell back to an inner cordon of works just on the city limits, where they were quickly in line again. The 9th corps, pressing on, attempted to carry these works also, but was repulsed in all its efforts.

"To the right of Gordon, A. P. Hill's command was in position, and against this part of the Southern line the 6th Federal corps was thrown in an impetuous charge. Hill's left was the weakest part of the whole position, as the infantry for its defense (McGowan's brigade) had been withdrawn on the previous day, and the works were held only by the artillerists, with a slim picket line in front. The 6th corps drove in the pickets, and, sweeping forward, captured the works, the batteries, and artillerymen.

"The movements of the 9th and 6th corps were simultaneous, and the success of the latter threatened the Confederate army with the most serious disaster. Wright's corps had completely broken the left of Hill's line, and threatened to push right through to the river, and cut the Southern force in two. The danger was increased by the attack of the corps, which, as soon as the 6th had carried Hill's works, stormed the redoubts on Hatcher's Run, and drove the small force of Confederates holding them beyond Sutherland's Station, on the South Side railroad. Then, uniting with the 6th and 24th corps, it completed the Federal line, which, swinging round, steadily closed in upon Petersburg.

"Fortunately, there were just in rear of the

redoubts captured by the 6th corps two strong enclosed works, covering the ground over which the enemy must advance to reach the river. These works were held by only a handful of men. Fort Alexander was nearer the enemy, and was garrisoned by a less devoted force than the other. As soon as the Federals had re-formed their line, they made a heavy charge forward, and carried the works with a rush, not, however, without a spirited struggle on the part of the defenders.

"There remained now only the other work—Fort Gregg—and this it was necessary to hold to the last extremity, in order that General Lee might have time to occupy his new position around the city. If the fort fell before that was accomplished, the army was lost. The garrison of Fort Gregg consisted of the 4th Maryland battery, with two 3-inch rifles and thirty men, a body of dismounted artillery drivers—Virginians and Louisianians—who had been armed with muskets, part of Harris's Mississippi brigade, and some North Carolinians—in all 250 men; the whole being under the command of Captain Chew of the Maryland battery. The critical situation of the army was known to this little band of heroes, and they silently resolved to purchase the safety of their comrades with their lives.

"As soon as Fort Alexander was captured, General Ord advanced Gibbon's division to storm and carry Fort Gregg, and break through to the city. Gibbon's column approached in fine order, and by its strength alone seemed about to envelop the work. Moving on rapidly it neared the fort, the Confederates suffering it to come within less than fifty yards. Then, by a well-directed volley, they sent the enemy reeling back across the ground they had passed over. The whole affair could be directly seen by both armies, and the repulse of the Federals was greeted by loud cheers from the Confederates in the inner line. Still no aid could be sent to the brave garrison, whose only hope was to die in the presence of the comrades they were trying to save. Both armies ceased firing at other points and every eye was fixed on the fight at Fort Gregg.

"Rallying his forces, Gibbon made another desperate attempt to carry the fort, but was again repulsed. A third charge met with the same fate, and for a while there sprang up in the hearts of the gazers at the city a wild hope that the fort would be held in spite of the heavy odds against it. Vain hope! At seven o'clock the Federals made a last charge, and this time succeeded in reaching the ditch. Many clambered to

the top of the works, but were beaten back by the clubbed muskets of the defenders, while the guns were fired rapidly through the embrasures. The pressure in front was too strong to be resisted, and the enemy swarmed into the works, crushing the garrison by their weight. The fort was taken, but the heroic defenders had reason to be proud of its defense. Out of the 250 men present when the action began, but 30 survived. There were none missing ; the dead and wounded made up the dire list. They had inflicted a loss of between 500 and 600 men upon their captors, or two Federals for each one of the 250 Confederates. Nor was the sacrifice vain. Fort Gregg was taken at a little after seven in the morning, and the two hours gained by its defense enabled General Lee to bring up his troops and occupy his last line around Petersburg.

"The enemy did not resume their advance immediately, but spent the next two hours in occupying the entire country towards the Appomattox, throwing their cavalry out on their left to the South Side railroad and the river above the city.

"Towards ten o'clock, General Lee received a small reënforcement. Early on the morning of the 2nd, General Longstreet had discovered the weak-

ness of the Federals in his front, and had marched promptly with Benning's brigade of Field's division, less than 300 strong. He reached the battle-field just as the enemy—a few minutes before ten o'clock—moved forward again to force an entrance to the city. Longstreet instantly brought Benning's brigade into action, and by his bold and skillful handling of it checked the enemy's advance until General Lee could hurry troops to its assistance, when the line was occupied and firmly held.

"The Confederates now occupied a short, but very strong line, extending immediately around Petersburg, with the right flank resting on the river above, and the left on the same stream below the city. Against this line the enemy now made repeated assaults, but they were met and repulsed at every point. Not only were the Federals everywhere thrown back in their efforts to advance, but Heth's division, under the immediate direction of General A. P. Hill, was ordered to recover some commanding ground held by the 9th Federal corps on the Southern left, near the river. Hill made his attack with great spirit, and pressed the 9th corps so hard with his little command, that the Federals were forced to bring up the garrison of the works at City Point to aid

them in maintaining their ground. The enemy held their position, and the Southern troops were withdrawn. Among the killed was Lieut.-General A. P. Hill. He had passed with high honor through the whole war up to this period, with but a slight wound, and fell now a victim to the chivalrous daring for which he was always distinguished.

“ Thus the day closed, with the Confederates in possession of Petersburg. But it was far from General Lee’s intention to attempt to hold the city longer. Such a course would involve the capture or destruction of his army, and all that remained to him now was to abandon both Richmond and Petersburg, and endeavor to join Johnston near Danville. It was no longer possible to retreat by the south bank of the Appomattox, for all the roads were in possession of the enemy, and now the march must be made by the longer route north of the river.”

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE RETIREMENT FROM PETERSBURG AND RICHMOND.

By this time, when the outer works of Petersburg were in possession of the Federal forces, and Grant was preparing for the morrow's work of continuing the assault on the city, Lee had communicated the condition of affairs, and his intention to retire from his lines, to President Davis at Richmond, suggesting that the capital should be immediately evacuated and the seat of Government transferred to Danville. Though it would have been fatuous, after the abandonment of Petersburg, to maintain Confederate control and authority at Richmond, the announcement of withdrawal from it came as a crushing blow to its citizens, since it meant abandoning the city to Northern occupation, and possible destruction or pillage. What it immediately meant, they soon saw with their own eyes, viz., the blowing up of the city's great warehouses, full of cotton and tobacco, to prevent them becoming the spoil of

the enemy ; besides the destruction of the Confederate iron-clads on the James River and other Government property and stores within the city's precincts ; the withdrawal of General Ewell's defensive command of 4,000 troops, and the certain moving in of the Federal general, Weitzel, and his besieging cohorts, as soon as Ewell and the Administration moved out. The crisis ere long came, with the conflagration of the tobacco warehouses, which, unhappily, extended to many valuable portions of Richmond, and the abandoning of the city to loot by the worthless scum of the population. "Thus fell the capital of the Confederacy," observes the historian from whom we have already quoted, "that for four years had withstood all the efforts of the enemy. It went down in a sea of suffering and sorrow such as it had never known before." It remains only to add, that Richmond, on the morning of the 3rd (April, 1865), was surrendered by its mayor to the Federal commander, General Weitzel, who took immediate possession, and humanely ordered his troops to arrest the conflagration and restore order, while he sought to relieve distress among the more necessitous of the citizens.

At Petersburg, when Grant became aware of Lee's retreat from the place and the route he had

chosen to take in withdrawing in the direction of Amelia Court House, he pushed forward the mass of his army (about 75,000) in pursuit. The pursuing force, headed by Sheridan's cavalry, and followed by the Union infantry and artillery, was directed to march with all speed to the line of the Richmond and Danville R. R., north of Burkesville, there, if possible, to intercept Lee and his fugitive army. Already, other points of possible escape had been closed to Lee, and this he, of course, knew; but he thought that, by rapid marching, he could reach Amelia Court House, and from there strike south to Danville, and, if practicable, effect his long-planned junction with General J. E. Johnston. One object, and an imperative one, that now took him to Amelia Court House, was to procure food for his half-famished men, for they had eaten nothing since the retreat began, save some handfuls of parched corn. Here the thoughtful leader had instructed the Confederate commissary-general to forward a provision-train, for the exigencies of the calculated day of arrival; but, to the indignation of General Lee and the dismay of the troops, it was found that the train with the supplies had gone on to Richmond, without stopping to unload the provisions at the Court House, so that it might assist in

removing the Government property from the old to the new, temporary capital at Danville. The mishap was a terrible, as it was an irremediable, one, for little local food could be had ; and such as could be gathered over a wide area occasioned an enforced delay, which proved, in part, fatal to the retreating Confederates.

But, to return for a brief moment to events at Petersburg, let us relate that, on the morning of the 3rd of April, when Grant had been apprised of the Confederate abandonment of the place and had set his army in motion to pursue them, he ordered General Humphreys, with the Second Union corps and a pontoon train, and General Ord, with the Sixth and Ninth corps, to renew the attack on the city. At this juncture, the Federal skirmishers reported that the Confederate lines were deserted, and a column being sent forward, and meeting with no opposition, it advanced to Petersburg and took possession of it. Leaving a garrison in occupancy, Grant now turned to join his army in its pursuit of Lee, who, as we have seen, had reached Amelia Court House, though with his forces considerably scattered in search of food and forage. Just before this, the retreating Confederates had been joined by the division of General Mahone and the troops that

had held the line south of the James, in front of Bermuda Hundreds, as well as by Ewell's command, that had been withdrawn from the lines about Richmond. The addition of these, with their several baggage transports and artillery, increased the unwieldiness of the mass in retreat, as well as made it more difficult to provide for the men and horses that had to be fed and cared for on the way. Nor was this all that Lee at this juncture had to contend with, for by this time (the evening of the 5th of April), when the march from Amelia Court House was resumed, the enemy's cavalry hung closely about his wearied columns and had to be constantly fought off; while many of the impeding wagons had to be burned *en route*, and many heavy guns buried, which could not be borne along, so exhausted were the horses and mules attached to them. As a narrator (Francis Lawley) of the harrowing incident of the retreat describes :

"It is easy to see that the locomotion of an army in such a plight must have been slow and slower. The retreat was conducted in the following fashion : About midnight the Confederates slipped out of their hasty works, which they had thrown up and held during the previous day, and fell back until ten or eleven o'clock the next

morning. Then they halted, and immediately threw up earthworks for their protection during the day. It was not long before the wolves were again on their heels, and from their earthworks the Confederates exchanged a heavy fire with their pursuers throughout the day. Delayed by the necessity of guarding a train from thirty-five to forty miles in length, enfeebled by hunger and sleeplessness, the retreating army was able to make only ten miles each night. This delay enabled the active Sheridan to get ahead with his cavalry, and to destroy the provisions along the railroad between Burkesville and Danville. Upon the 5th, many of the mules and horses ceased to struggle, when it became necessary to burn hundreds of wagons. Towards evening of the 5th, and all day long upon the 6th, hundreds of men dropped from exhaustion, and thousands let fall their muskets from inability to carry them any farther. The scenes of the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th, were of a nature which can be apprehended in its vivid reality only by men who are thoroughly familiar with the harrowing details of war. Behind, and on either flank, were ubiquitous and increasingly adventurous troops—every mud-hole and rise in the road choked with blazing wagons—the air filled with the deafening reports of am-

munition exploding, and shells bursting when touched by the flames—dense columns of smoke ascending to heaven from the burning and exploding vehicles—exhausted men, worn-out mules and horses, lying down side by side—gaunt famine glaring hopelessly from sunken, lack-luster eyes—dead men, dead horses, dead mules, everywhere—death, many times welcomed as God's blessing in disguise,—who can wonder if many hearts, tried in the fiery furnace of four years' unparalleled suffering, and never hitherto found wanting, should have quailed in presence of starvation, fatigue, sleeplessness, misery—unintermittent for five or six days, and culminating in hopelessness?"

This narrative of the retreat of the Army of Northern Virginia is a painfully realistic, but not overdrawn, one ; and, in proof of that, we need but mention the fact of the dwindling numbers of Lee's forces, as well as the perils by the way, in its withdrawal from the late scenes of its operations. On the morning of the 6th, Meade having joined Sheridan at Jetersville, they together moved upon Amelia Court House, with the purpose of giving Lee battle. The latter, however, having been brought news of the enemy's design, branched off toward Farmville, by way of Dea-

tonsville, and for the time gave them the slip. When this happened, Grant instructed General Ord to take the direct road to Farmville, and there block Lee's onward path ; while Sheridan swiftly pursued the Confederate columns on the road they had taken, and came upon them at Sailor's Creek, a minor tributary of the Appomattox. On the way after the fugitives, the Federal general made repeated onslaughts upon their columns, but was constantly beaten off. Presently, however, he found a weak spot in the retreating line, in Pickett's command, which was guarding a portion of Lee's long train ; and on this Sheridan fell with three of his divisions, and captured a number of the Confederates, besides taking from them sixteen pieces of artillery and destroying 400 wagons.

In his dire extremity, and to enable him to save the remainder of the column attacked, Pickett summoned General Ewell to his assistance, who at once came upon the scene with reinforcements to the number of 4,200 men. While Ewell was coming up, it was unfortunately found that the rearguard, consisting of General Gordon's corps, had branched off another road, so as to evade trouble from Sheridan's attacks ; and this escape of Gordon lessened the chances of the com-

bined forces of Pickett and Ewell notwithstanding Sheridan successfully. It was also found that, while Ewell was preparing for what he saw must be a stiff fight, the enemy had occupied the high ground about him and cut him off from the remainder of the retreating columns. The situation of the command was, hence, a desperate one, but, despite the fact, Ewell resolved to give battle, and sell his own and his men's lives dearly. Meanwhile, heavy reënforcements came forward for Sheridan, and in the conflict that ensued Pickett's division was worsted and put to flight, leaving Ewell and his veterans to cope alone with the enemy. This they gallantly did, and for a time so successfully, that the 6th Unionist corps was driven back before the sharp Confederate fire. The broken Federal line was presently, however, rallied and re-formed, when it renewed the attack, and now with such effect that Ewell's men were surrounded by overpowering numbers and compelled to throw down their arms and surrender. When this disaster overtook Ewell, he had himself no other recourse than to submit to be made a prisoner with his command ; while three other general officers, including Custis Lee, at the same time fell into the hands of the enemy.

With the dispersion of Pickett's division, and

the capture or breaking up also of the commands under Anderson and Bushrod Johnson, Lee's army, when it reached Farmville, was reduced to 10,000 men, less than a fifth of the strength of the pursuing Federals. At Farmville, the little band, however, was enabled to get food ; and, when it had driven off General Ord's command, here engaged in destroying the bridges, it passed on a few miles, and on the night of the 6th of April crossed the Appomattox at High Bridge, where it bivouacked ; while Lee summoned Long-street, Gordon, Pendleton, and other of his chief officers to a camp-fire council to consider the situation.

CHAPTER XIX.

GRANT'S PEACE-OVERTURES TO LEE, AND THE SUR- RENDER AT APPOMATTOX.

THE end of strife, obviously now, drew very near ; and Lee, though he did not shirk further fighting, in the cause he had so long, earnestly, and bravely borne a conspicuous part, naturally wished now to steal off from his environing foes and reach Appomattox Court House. There he expected to obtain supplies to enable him to push on with his little shrunken but faithful band to the Staunton River, and at that point "maintain himself behind the stream until a junction could be made with Johnston." On the afternoon of April 8, he, however, learned that the supplies at the Court House had been captured, and that the enemy were in strong force about the place. This was disconcerting news to Lee ; but it did not cause him to hesitate in his course, which was to divest himself of all impedimenta and cut his way through the Federal lines, and so escape

from the entanglement he and his loyal followers found themselves in.

The idea of surrender, which had been favored at the camp-fire council with his general officers, was naturally repugnant to Lee ; and, while a chance of escape remained, equally opposed was he to the notion of disbandment, which would expose his men to almost certain capture, as well as disappointment and misery in their search for food. The responsibility of continuing actively in the field was, of course, acutely felt by the gallant leader ; and he keenly sympathized with the discomforts and sufferings of his troops, though he would not, as yet, bring himself to resort to or justify surrender, with honor. To accept the latter, when it was proposed by his corps-commanders in council, instantly aroused the martial spirit of the heroic general, and elicited the retort : “Surrender ! I have too many good fighting men for that.” At this crisis, his anxieties were great, but chiefly for the leal and true men under him, as well as for the women and children of the South, of whose fate, in the emergencies of the time and their issues, he had constant and patriotic thought. Fits of sadness could not fail to come upon him, just then, as we see in his remark, when evidently thinking of

exposing himself as a soldier to death on the field of battle. "How easily I could get rid of this," he said, "and be at rest: I have only to ride along the line and all will be over. But it is our duty to live!"

On the morning of April 7th, the Confederates resumed their march from High Bridge, where we had left them in bivouac, towards Farmville, with the design of reaching Appomattox Court House; thence, if practicable, to push on to Lynchburg. On withdrawing from High Bridge, an attempt was made to fire the bridges at the place, so as to impede the enemy's crossing in pursuit. In this, however, the Confederates were, in part, thwarted by the coming up of the Second Federal corps. The latter dashed forward and saved the bridges from entire destruction, while at the same time it fell upon the "rebel" rearguard and the remains of its wagon train, which were speedily taken; though General Gordon here turned upon the enemy and drove them off, capturing about 200 prisoners. For the remainder of the day, the retreat was unmolested, save for periodic dashes of the Federal cavalry; and late in the afternoon brought Lee's wearied command to a strong defensive position north of Farmville, covering the main road to Lynchburg. Here a halt was or-

dered for a brief rest, and to hold the pursuing enemy in check until night-fall, when the retreat was intended to be resumed.

While in bivouac here, General Humphrey's command came up to attack the position, but finding it too strong to be carried by a direct assault he sought to carry it by an attack on the flanks. This movement enabled Humphreys to discover that he had the whole of Lee's army here en-sconced, and while sending back for reënforcements he contented himself by an attempt on the Southern left. In this, however, he was repulsed with a heavy loss. As night had now come on, the forced Federal fighting was discontinued, while the Confederates got ready to continue the retreat. Before setting out, the leader of the Army of Northern Virginia received from General Grant the first of his overtures for peace, in a despatch (dated April 7, 1865), which read thus :

"GENERAL R. E. LEE :

"The result of the last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia in this struggle. I feel that it is so, and regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any

further effusion of blood by asking of you the surrender of that portion of the Confederate States army known as the Army of Northern Virginia.

U. S. GRANT, *Lieut.-General.*"

General Lee at once replied to this Federal missive as follows :

April 7, 1865.

"GENERAL:

"I have your note of this date. Though not entertaining the opinion you express on the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia, I reciprocate your desire to avoid useless effusion of blood, and therefore, before considering your proposition, ask the terms you will offer on condition of its surrender.

"R. E. LEE, *General.*

"LIEUT. GENERAL U. S. GRANT."

When the latter communication reached Grant's hands, the night had been far spent, while the Confederates were well on their way to Appomattox Court House, heading for Lynchburg. On the morning of the 8th (April), General Grant at once, however, replied to it, and in the following terms :

April 8, 1865.

“GENERAL :

“ Your note of last evening, in reply to mine of the same date, asking the condition on which I will accept the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, is just received. In reply, I would say that *peace* being my great desire, there is but one condition I would insist upon, namely : that the men and officers surrendered shall be disqualified for taking up arms again against the Government of the United States until properly exchanged. I will meet you, or will designate officers to meet any officers you may name for the same purpose, at any point agreeable to you, for the purpose of arranging definitely the terms upon which the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia will be received.

U. S. GRANT, *Lieut.-General.*

“GENERAL R. E. LEE.”

To this, General Lee made the following response :

April 8, 1865.

“GENERAL :

“ I received, at a late hour, your note of to-day. In mine of yesterday, I did not intend to propose the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia,

but to ask the terms of your proposition. To be frank, I do not think the emergency has arisen to call for the surrender of this army ; but, as the restoration of peace should be the sole object of all, I desired to know whether your proposals would lead to that end. I cannot, therefore, meet you with a view to surrender the Army of Northern Virginia ; but, as far as your proposal may affect the Confederate forces under my command, and tend to the restoration of peace, I should be pleased to meet you at ten A.M. to-morrow, on the old stage-road to Richmond, between the picket lines of the two armies.

“ R. E. LEE, *General.*

“ LIEUT.-GENERAL U. S. GRANT.”

On the following day, General Grant sent the Confederate leader the subjoined reply :

APRIL 9, 1865.

“ GENERAL :

“ Your note of yesterday is received. I have no authority to treat on the subject of peace ; the meeting proposed for 10 A. M. to-day could lead to no good. I will state, however, General, that I am equally anxious for peace with yourself, and the whole North entertains the same feeling. The

terms upon which peace can be had are well understood. By the South laying down their arms they will hasten that most desirable event, save thousands of human lives, and hundreds of millions of property not yet destroyed. Seriously hoping that all our difficulties may be settled without the loss of another life, I subscribe myself, etc.,

“U. S. GRANT, *Lieut.-General.*

“GENERAL R. E. LEE.”

While this correspondence was passing between the two leaders of the respective armies, the retreating Confederates had reached Appomattox Court House, within twenty-five miles of Lynchburg, which they had gained by the evening of April 8. All day, fugitives and pursuers had hardly exchanged shots ; though as the “rebel” vanguard neared a narrow strip of land between the Appomattox and the James rivers, the sound of heavy firing was borne down from the front, and the conclusion was instantly, and correctly, reached that the further advance of the Confederate columns was cut off. The firing, as it quickly transpired, came from Sheridan’s command, which, after a rapid circuitous march, had reached the vanguard of the retreating force,

and was then engaged in capturing a train or two of cars, filled with food and supplies for Confederate consumption from Lynchburg. With the great raider's cavalry force had also come up General Ord's infantry division, and both barred the further advance of Lee's wearied and now feeble army, and what remained of the Confederate wagon transport.

At this new menace, when there was little will or ability among the men to confront it with vigor, the Confederates must have been appalled ; but not so was their brave leader, who, with characteristic will-power and decision, ordered that a passage-way be cut on the morrow through all obstacles, and this perilous task was entrusted to General Gordon.

On the morning's dawn (the memorable 9th of April), Gordon made ready his cutting-out force, and, after a brief reconnaissance, led a smart attack upon the Federals, whom he at first drove back, but was in turn compelled to recoil from the superior force brought up to defend the place and hem in the Confederate army. Finding that he could not force a passage-way, or even hold his ground with safety, Gordon sent word back to General Lee of the straits he was in, and advising him of his having been effectively checkmated

by the enemy. Apprised of the situation, and seeing no way out of it except at the sacrifice of much life, which he was now unwilling to make, the Confederate commander-in-chief concluded that the time had at last come to surrender. He therefore hastened forward a flag of truce to General Sheridan, seeking a suspension of hostilities with a view to surrender, and at the same time penned and despatched the following communication to General Grant:

APRIL 9, 1865.

"GENERAL:

"I received your note this morning on the picket line, whither I had come to meet you and ascertain definitely what terms were embraced in your proposition of yesterday with reference to the surrender of this army.

"I now request an interview in accordance with the offer contained in your letter of yesterday for that purpose.

"Very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"R. E. LEE, *General.*

"TO LIEUT-GENERAL GRANT,

"Commanding the Armies of the United States."

The interview sought by General Lee was promised by the Federal General, as soon as he should be apprised of the desired place of meeting. Notice of this was forthwith despatched to General Grant, and the now historic meeting took place between the two commanders, in the village at Appomattox Court House, at the house of Wilmer McLean. Here, after the formal greeting of the two Generals and their respective staffs, the agreement of surrender was drawn up, signed, and witnessed ; while the terms of surrender were drafted and signed by the Federal Commander, and formally accepted, under seal, by the Confederate General, as the subjoined document will show :

“ APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, VA.

April 9, 1865.

“ GENERAL :

“ In accordance with the substance of my letter to you of the 8th instant, I propose to receive the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia on the following terms, to wit : Rolls of all the officers and men to be made in duplicate, one copy to be given to an officer designated by me, and the other to be retained by such officer or officers as you may designate. The officers to give their

individual paroles not to take up arms against the United States until properly exchanged ; and each company or regimental commander to sign a like parole for the men of their commands. The arms, artillery, and public property to be packed and stacked, and turned over to the officers appointed by me to receive them. This will not embrace the side arms of the officers, or their private horses or baggage. This done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to his home, not to be disturbed by United States authority so long as they observe their paroles and the laws in force where they may reside.

“ U. S. GRANT, *Lieut.-General.*

“ GENERAL R. E. LEE.”

A formal letter, drafted and signed by General Lee, was at the interview delivered to General Grant, accepting the generous terms of surrender and the conditions stipulated to be observed ; while, on the following day, Commissioners representing both causes met, drafted, and signed the appended Agreement giving effect to the surrender. The names and ranks of the Commissioners on each side, it will be observed, are appended at the foot of the Agreement, the details of which are as follows :

“APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, APRIL 10, 1865

*Agreement entered into this day in regard to
the Surrender of the Army of Northern Vir-
ginia to the United States Authorities :*

“1st. The troops shall march by brigades and detachments to the designated point, stack their arms, deposit their flags, sabers, pistols, etc., and then march to their homes under charge of their officers, superintended by their respective division and corps commanders, officers retaining their side-arms and the authorized number of private horses.

“2nd. All public horses and public property of all kinds to be turned over to staff officers, to be designated by the United States authorities.”

“3rd. Such transportation as may be agreed upon as necessary for the transportation of the private baggage of officers will be allowed to accompany the officers, to be turned over at the end of the trip to the nearest United States Quarter-master, receipts being taken for the same.

“4th. Couriers and mounted men of the artillery and cavalry, whose horses are their own private property, will be allowed to retain them.

“5th. The surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia shall be construed to include all the forces

operating with that army on the 8th instant, the date of the commencement of the negotiations for surrender, except such bodies of cavalry as actually made their escape previous to the surrender, and except also such pieces of artillery as were more than twenty miles from Appomattox Court House at the time of the surrender on the 9th instant.

(Signed).

JOHN GIBBON, *Maj-Gen. Vols.*

CHARLES GRIFFIN, *Bt. Maj-Gen. U. S. Vols.*

W. MERRITT, *Bt. Maj-Gen.*

J. LONGSTREET, *Lieut-Gen.*

J. B. GORDON, *Maj-Gen.*

W. M. PENDLETON, *Brig-Gen. and Chief
of Artillery."*

Thus was completed and given effect to the surrender of Lee and his Army of Northern Virginia, and thus passed into history the closing incidents of the great Civil War. The number of effective men of Lee's immediate command who, on the morrow of surrender, took advantage of the generous terms offered by General Grant, on the part of the United States Government, did not exceed 10,000 ; though, when the stragglers came up and the scattered contingents were gathered in, the entire number paroled reached

close upon 28,000. Throughout the proceedings connected with the surrender, there was nothing, in tone or manner, on the part of the victors, to wound the natural sensitiveness of the Confederates; while no spirit of exultation was manifested, or aught shown save the utmost kindness, compassion, and sympathy. This, added to the considerate and politic conditions upon which each individual member of the Southern army was paroled and permitted to return to his home, relieved surrender of all pang, and the remembrance of "a lost cause," if it then or afterwards intruded itself, of a sense of disappointment and sorrow. To Lee, personally, the worst, if we may say it, was yet to come, in taking leave of his grim but loved veterans, and in bidding each of the now shrunken but heroic band farewell.

Profound was the feeling with which the little army saw their beloved leader ride back to his headquarters after the surrender had been practically effected. Sobs and tears were the signs of their emotion, as all realized that the end had finally come, and the last fight for Southern independence had taken place. As his men clustered around their great Captain, seeking to grasp and give a loving pressure to the hand of

their long-time chieftain, upwelling tears in the hero's eyes spoke the agony of his soul, and, in trembling tones, he simply said to them : "Men, we have fought through the war together ; and I have done the best I could for you. My heart is too full to say more !" On the morrow, however, he took a more formal leave of his little faithful band, and in the following graciously expressed and noble, pathetic words :

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA,
April 10, 1865.

"AFTER four years of arduous service, marked by unsurpassed courage and fortitude, the Army of Northern Virginia has been compelled to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources.

"I need not tell the survivors of so many hard-fought battles, who have remained steadfast to the last, that I have consented to this result from no distrust of them ; but, feeling that valor and devotion could accomplish nothing that could compensate for the loss that would have attended the continuation of the contest, I have determined to avoid the useless sacrifice of those whose past services have endeared them to their country-men.

"By the terms of agreement, officers and men

can return to their homes and remain there until exchanged.

“ You will take with you the satisfaction that proceeds from the consciousness of duty faithfully performed ; and I earnestly pray that a merciful God will extend to you His blessing and protection.

“ With an unceasing admiration of your constancy and devotion to your country, and a grateful remembrance of your kind and generous consideration of myself, I bid you an affectionate farewell.

“ R. E. LEE, *General.*”

But one more act in the drama of capitulation has to be related, viz., the summoning, on April 12, for the last time, of the several divisions of the Army of Northern Virginia, to a public place near the Appomattox Court House, where the different commands stacked their arms, packed the artillery, deposited their accoutrements, and, with a salute, parted with their field and regimental colors. The surrender was received for General Grant (who, with a fine consideration for the feelings of the men of the late army, remained at his headquarters) by Major-General Gibbon. Those who had effected their escape

(chiefly 2,000 cavalry under Rosser and Fitz-hugh Lee), before the closing in of Sheridan's lines after hostilities were suspended, and who afterwards surrendered, were partakers in the terms granted to the army as a whole. All, officers and men, were now paroled and disbanded, and took their several ways homewards; while General Lee, accompanied by his staff, set out for Richmond and reunion with those dear to them. At the late Confederate capital, the hero was hailed, alike by gray and blue uniformed figures, with the heartiest enthusiasm; while by the city's officials and citizens he was awarded the respect and homage due not only to fidelity, but to stately courage and high moral worth.

After the surrender and dispersion of Lee and his army, General J. E. Johnston, with whose command in North Carolina Lee had with futile purpose sought to form a junction, entered into correspondence with General Sherman, as he could now make no stand alone. This correspondence led to the surrender of his army at Durham Station on the 26th of April; while other bands of Confederate troops also yielded themselves up, and the four terrible years of war finally came to a close. Simultaneously,

General Grant returned with his staff to Washington, where followed the hideous tragedy of the assassination, on the 14th of April, of President Lincoln, as he was sitting with his family in a box at the theater in the capital. The lamented President died on the following day. The assassin was a demented Southern sympathizer, John Wilkes Booth, who belonged to an actor's family, and had become fanatically opposed to the good and wise Lincoln and to the Union Administration and party. Escaping from Washington after his vile deed, which struck horror in all breasts, and moved even the South to sympathy, Booth was hunted down by a party of soldiers near Fredericksburg, and, refusing to surrender, he was shot in a barn where he had sought refuge.

The striking down of the great Emancipator, ever prone to kindness, as he was, and possessing a mind and heart always influenced by humane and just motives, was a heavy blow to the whole country ; and especially just then, when he was about to grapple with the serious problem of Reconstruction. In a sense, as the present writer has elsewhere said, Lincoln's calamitous end came as a not unfitting sequel to, and admonition against, civil war ; and though it deprived

the nation of his wise counsels in the great work that lay before it, his death and the manner of it were factors of value in hushing all criticism of the man and his career, while raising grateful peans to his memory. In unity well might the two sections of the country, now again become one, pay ceaseless honor to him who had had much to do, through the long and appalling conflict, in bringing about the happy issue of Union, and who, in memorable words, in his immortal Second Inaugural, after bemoaning the scourge of war, and yet foreseeing its close, had admonished the Nation to have "malice toward none," and "with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right," besought them to "finish the work they were in, to bind up the Nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphans, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

In closing our narrative of the chief incidents of the war, as they connect themselves with General Lee, and passing to follow the latter to the close of his illustrious career, it remains but to add, that a general amnesty was proclaimed by the

new Union President (Andrew Johnson), on the 29th of May, the last of the Confederate generals having surrendered during the month; while President Davis of the now collapsed Confederacy, then a fugitive in Georgia, was captured on May 10th at Irwingsville, Ga., and imprisoned for a time in Fortress Monroe, but later on was liberated on parole.

Soon after the close of the conflict the North disbanded its large armies, over 800,000 having been mustered out by the month of November, 1865. "The War for the Union," remarks an historian authority (Edward Channing, in his "History of the United States") "cost the nation, North and South, the lives of nearly a million men : about 95,000 Northern soldiers were killed on the field of battle, or were fatally wounded and died in hospitals ; 180,000 more succumbed to disease while on the army rolls. To these figures must be added those who died from accident, disappeared permanently, or died in Southern prisons, or in consequence of disease or wounds contracted while in the service ; the total of those who perished from all these causes is not far from half a million ; about as many more Southerners perished from similar causes. Hundreds of thousands more contracted disorders or

received wounds while in the service, which did not lead directly to death, but which shortened life or made it wretched. The total money cost of the war to the Union Government was about 3,500 million dollars—excluding expenses incurred by States and municipalities, which amounted, in all probability, at least to 300 millions more. Adding to this the amount paid and to be paid in pensions to those who risked their lives and the well-being of their families for the Union cause, and the amount of private property destroyed during the conflict, the War for the Union cost not less than ten thousand million dollars !”

CHAPTER XX.

GENERAL LEE INSTALLED AS PRESIDENT OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE, LEXINGTON, VA.

GENERAL LEE lived for over five years after the close of the war ; and though by a section in Congress he was the object, as was the South and its late President also, of suspicion and partizan dislike, he remained uniformly loyal to the new order of things, as well as unflinching in his patriotic purpose to restore the nation to unity and quiet, orderly government. Reconstruction, for a time, made slow progress, for President Johnson's ability to smooth matters and heal the sores of the nation were not such as would doubtless have been his great predecessor's, had he lived ; while many, like Davis and even Lee, who had participated in rebellion, were excluded from the measure of amnesty and pardon that had been proclaimed. In Lee's case, he was even indicted for treason, at the instigation of a Federal judge ; though his old antagonist-in-arms, General Grant, whom he lived to see fill

the Presidential chair, pleaded the sacredness of the Southern Commander's military parole, and legal proceedings were consequently dropped. His personal attitude during these trying years was most patient and retiring, as well as consistently dutiful, as a letter to his son, General Fitz-hugh Lee, emphatically attests : "As to the indictments," writes the General, "I hope you, at least, may not be prosecuted. I see no more reason for it than for prosecuting *all* who ever engaged in the war. I think, however, we may expect procrastination in measures of relief, denunciatory threats, etc. ; but we must be patient and let them take their course."

— When Lee, at the close of the war, returned to his family at Richmond, he found the city not only in much confusion, but largely destroyed ; and, as his ancestral home there of Arlington had in his absence been appropriated to public purposes, and was now occupied by Federal officials and army officers, his desire for quiet and privacy led to his re-establishing himself and his family in a country house on the James River in Pow-hatan county. Hither came to him the announcement that the Board of Trustees had elected him to the presidency of Washington College, Lexington, Va., a compliment which, as

occupant

it was alike unsought and unexpected, he greatly appreciated. The offer, while a politic one on the part of the Trustees, and intended as an honor to the gallant old soldier, as well as a tribute to his learning and high character, General Lee hesitated, however, to accept, and that for two reasons. These were, first, what he deemed his inability, at his advanced years, to undergo the labor of conducting classes in regular courses of instruction—though he might be equal to undertake the general administration and supervision of the institution ; and, second, the fact that he was still, politically, under the ban of the United States Government, as an unamnestied man ; and, hence, did he accept the post, might draw hostility upon the College to its injury, as well as animadversion from certain partisan quarters. These scruples and objections were, however, and wisely, waived by the Board ; and the close of September, 1865, found him on his way to Lexington, to be inaugurated as President of the College.

The installation of the soldier-president took place October 2nd ; and though at General Lee's request it was quiet and simple in its exercises, there was a roomful of prominent people present, including the students, faculty, and trustees, to

witness and do honor to the occasion. After a prayer, Judge Brockenbrough, chairman of the Board, made a eulogistic address, in which he congratulated "the Board and College, and its present and future students, on having obtained one so loved and great and worthy to preside over the institution ;" then the oath of office was administered and taken, and the keys were given up by the Rector into the keeping of the new President. After this, followed the customary introductions and handshakings, etc., the whole proceedings, it is stated, being at once most pleasing and impressive.

On entering upon his academic duties, General Lee removed his wife and daughters to their new home; while his eldest son was, meanwhile, called to a chair in the Virginia Military Institute, located also at Lexington. His management of the College was productive of excellent results, bringing to it numbers of students from many sections of the South, while raising it to high distinction as a widely approved center of intellectual training and well-maintained discipline. The incentive General Lee set himself in his arduous, though self-imposed, task, we find in his own characteristic declaration, that "I have led the young men of the South in battle ; I have

seen many of them fall under my standard. I shall devote my life now to training young men to do their duty in life."

At this time, there was much talk in Virginia and elsewhere in the South of a wholesale immigration to Mexico, in which Lee's coöperation was sought: but the General, though admitting the possibility that a movement of the kind might conduce to prosperity, discountenanced the project, deeming it better, as he said, that Southerners should remain at home and mold, as well as share in, the fortunes of their respective States.

In public office, even that of the governorship of his own State, which was offered him early in 1867, Lee could not be induced to serve, preferring a quiet, unostentatious life and the enjoyment of privacy and home comforts. He was, however, thoroughly alive to and interested in public affairs, and in his letters to friends he shows and gives expression to his thoughtful views on many important questions of the time. In one of these letters, written in frank terms to a correspondent and sympathizer, he obviously cannot resist giving expression to his alarm at the dangers that then threatened the nation and its republican institutions, as well as his regret at the many existing signs of aggression on the rights of his own

section of the country. In the following extract from a letter written to a friend abroad at the close of 1866, we see what were his views on the traditional question of State Rights and the aggressions of an over-powerful and autocratically-inclined General Government :

“ While I have considered the preservation of the constitutional power of the General Government to be the foundation of our peace and safety at home and abroad, I yet believe that the maintenance of the rights and authority reserved to the States, and to the people, not only essential to the adjustment and balance of the general system, but the safe-guard of the continuance of a free government. I consider it as the chief source of stability to our political system ; whereas the consolidation of the States into one vast republic, sure to be aggressive abroad and despotic at home, will be the certain precursor of that ruin which has overwhelmed all those that have preceded it.”

On the important matter of self-government, and the attitude of the South on the once-distracting topic of slavery and the tendency of recent laws to place the political power, sectionally, in the hands of the negro race, General Lee felt strongly, as we see from the following expression of his views, in reply to a request for such from

General Rosecrans and other public men. Writing from White Sulphur Springs, W. Va., in the summer months of 1868, Lee observes : *

"Whatever opinions may have prevailed in the past with regard to African slavery or the right of a State to secede from the Union, we believe we express the almost unanimous judgment of the Southern people when we declare that they consider that these questions were decided by the war, and that it is their intention, in good faith, to abide by that decision. At the close of the war, the Southern people laid down their arms and sought to resume their former relations to the Government of the United States. Through their State conventions they abolished slavery and annulled their ordinances of secession ; and they returned to their peaceful pursuits with a sincere purpose to fulfill all their duties under the Constitution of the United States, which they had sworn to support. If their action in these particulars had been met in a spirit of frankness and cordiality, we believe that, ere this, old irritations would have passed away, and the wounds inflicted by the

* We are indebted for this paper, setting forth General Lee's views, to Prof. H. A. White's biography of Lee, in the "Heroes of the Nations" series, published by Messrs. G. Putnam's Sons, in 1902.

war would have been, in a great measure, healed. As far as we are advised, the people of the South entertain no unfriendly feeling towards the Government of the United States, but they complain that their rights under the Constitution are withheld from them in the administration thereof. The idea that the Southern people are hostile to the negroes, and would oppress them, if it were in their power to do so, is entirely unfounded. They have grown up in our midst, and we have been accustomed from childhood to look upon them with kindness. The change in the relations of the two races has wrought no change in our feelings towards them. They still constitute an important part of our laboring population. Without their labor, the lands of the South would be comparatively unproductive ; without the employment which Southern agriculture affords, they would be destitute of the means of subsistence, and become paupers dependent upon public bounty. Self-interest, if there were no higher motive, would therefore prompt the whites of the South to extend to the negroes care and protection.

“ The important fact that the two races are, under existing circumstances, necessary to each other, is gradually becoming apparent to both, and we believe that but for influences exerted to

stir up the passions of the negroes, the relations of the two races would soon adjust themselves on a basis of mutual kindness and advantage.

"It is true that the people of the South, in common with a large majority of the people of the North and West, are, for obvious reasons, inflexibly opposed to any system of laws that would place the political power of the country in the hands of the negro race. But this opposition springs from no feeling of enmity, but from a deep-seated conviction that, at present, the negroes have neither the intelligence nor the other qualifications which are necessary to make them safe depositaries of political power. They would inevitably become the victims of demagogues who, for selfish purposes, would mislead them, to the serious injury of the public.

"The great want of the South is peace. The people earnestly desire tranquillity and a restoration of the Union. They deprecate disorder and excitement as the most serious obstacle to their prosperity. They ask a restoration of their rights under the Constitution. They desire relief from oppressive misrule. Above all, they would appeal to their countrymen for the reestablishment, in the Southern States, of that which has justly been regarded as the birthright of every American,

the right of self-government. Establish these on a firm basis, and we can safely promise, on behalf of the Southern people, that they will faithfully obey the Constitution and laws of the United States, treat the negro population with kindness and humanity, and fulfill every duty incumbent on peaceful citizens, loyal to the Constitution of their country."

This deliverance of Lee on the political and social condition of the South is, as will be seen, calm and temperate, as was his testimony, given at Washington, early in 1866, when summoned thither to be interrogated by the Congressional Committee on Reconstruction. His views in regard to the latter were those of a sane, thoughtful and loyal citizen, sincerely anxious for peace and harmony in the South, as well as for the resumption of cordial relations between the two sections of the now common country. But, as we have said, Lee was averse to taking part in the public discussions of the time, and was most guarded in everything that escaped him, that might be construed as a criticism upon the Administration at Washington, and its policy in restoring peace and order in the late seceding States and in removing the disabilities under which many of its chief citizens still lay. Contention, public or pri-

vate, was never his habit, and he ever eschewed the discussion of all controverted questions that might tempt him to engage in it. Besides, he was now giving almost his whole thought to his academic duties in College, actuated by a deep sense of his responsibility as President, and his desire to bring the institution to the highest possible state of efficiency. In this laudable work he was signally successful, especially when we consider from what a low ebb in its affairs he had built up the institution, which, when he took hold of it, was utterly broken in fortune and without resources and equipment, while the war had practically closed its doors. Lee's absorbing interest in his duties throughout the five years his sadly shortened life enabled him to give to the administration of the College's affairs, is thus appreciatively vouched for by his nephew and military biographer, General Fitzhugh Lee (See "Life of General Lee," in the Great Commanders' series). "Year by year," states the narrator, "the conception of his (President Lee's) duty grew stronger, and year by year, as its instrument, the College grew dearer. He was no figurehead, kept in position for the attraction of his name; his energy, zeal, and administrative ability surmounted all difficulties. His great labors were directed to making Wash-

ton College the seat of science, art, and literature. Far-reaching plans laid for its success were wisely conceived. . . . A scholastic monument was slowly responding to his noble influence and wise administration, which would be as illustrious as his most brilliant military achievements. He mastered all details, observing the students, becoming personally acquainted with them, their aspirations and hopes ; his interest followed them everywhere ; and their associations, dispositions, and habits, were well known to him. He never grew imperious, or tried to force a measure upon the faculty, but modestly said he had but one vote and wished to know the opinion of his colleagues, and leave the decision to be determined by the whole body. Sustained by the loftiest principles of virtue and religion, an exalted character, and a conscientious sense of duty, General Lee suffered no complaint to escape his lips during the eventful years, from 1865 to 1870, though troubled by much that was taking place."

Besides this testimony to General Lee's untiring labors on behalf of the College, we know that his wise administration of its affairs helped to improve its finances and gain for it occasional gifts and endowments, most welcome at the time to the institution. He was also himself cheered by the

coming to the College of many studious youth who had served under him in the war ; and whose education had been interrupted by the four years of unhappy conflict. His influence was great upon these, as well as upon all in the classes, and that not only intellectually, but morally, for he ever regarded religious training as an important feature in the functions of the College, as well as the training that would make men worthy and useful citizens and high-minded, honorable gentlemen, after his own exemplary and characteristic type. Socially, his influence also was great, as we see in the offers that were repeatedly made to him of influential and often highly-remunerated positions, which, however, he invariably refused, so that he might give his undivided time and attention to the educational and administrative affairs of the College.

CHAPTER XXI.

EVENING SHADOWS, AND DEATH.

As the years passed over him, General Lee, unhappily, found himself in indifferent health, in consequence of the return of an old ailment to which his long and arduous military life had exposed him, and now left him often a great sufferer. This was an aggravated form of rheumatism, which threatened the vitals and gave him almost constant pain in his chest. Early in the year of 1870, the General's distress from this affliction increased, and at length became so great that he was reluctantly necessitated to rest from his labors and undertake a trip to Georgia and other parts of the South. In this expedition in search of health, he was accompanied by his most dutiful and ever-watchful daughter, Agnes, who, with her mother, also an invalid, were at this time very solicitous about him. While in the South, Lee's general health improved, and he seemed to be benefited by the change of scene and air, so that he returned to his college duties

in the autumn session ; though, to the close observer, his appearance showed traces of the onward progress of disease. His step, at this time, we are told, began to lose its elasticity ; while the shoulders began to droop and the ruddy glow disappeared from his face. There were signs soon also of cerebral exhaustion and congestion of the brain, which showed that the end was now not far off. His nephew-biographer, Fitzhugh Lee, gives us the incidents that befell the great soldier, premonitory of the approaching end. "A noble life," he tells us, "was drawing to a close. The morning of September 28, 1870, found him faithfully performing the duties of his office ; the afternoon, engaged with his brother members of the vestry of Grace Episcopal Church" (at Lexington) "in work congenial to the true Christian, and the autumn evening shadows fell upon a couch over which the heavenly angels were bending. The important question of rebuilding the church and increasing his faithful friend and pastor's compensation had interested him so deeply at the vestry meeting, that the cold church and the outside storm were forgotten, and it was only after a protracted session of over three hours, as he proceeded to his house, a short distance off, that weariness and weakness overtook him, and his

wavering steps indicated increasing feebleness. Entering his private office, as usual, he took off his hat, military cloak, and overshoes, and then proceeded to join his family, who had been waiting tea for him. Quietly he stood in his accustomed place in the dining-room, while his family, with bowed heads, waited to hear the well-known grace, but no sound came from his lips. Speechless the great soldier stood ; an expression of despair spread over his face ; and from his eyes came a dreamy, far-away look, which denoted the approaching summons from his Creator.

“ ‘ My husband came in,’ wrote Mrs. Lee, ‘ and I asked where he had been, remarking that he had kept us waiting a long time. He did not reply, but stood up as if to say grace. No word proceeded from his lips, but with a sublime look of resignation he sat down in his chair.’ With intense anxiety the family went to his assistance. A bed was brought to the dining-room, in which he was placed, and doctors were quickly summoned. For two weeks,

‘ Twixt night and morn upon the horizon’s verge,
Between two worlds life hovered like a star.’

“ Mrs. Lee tells us that his whole demeanor during his sickness was that of one who had

taken leave of earth. He never smiled, and rarely attempted to speak, except in his dreams, and then, she says, 'he wandered to those dreadful battlefields.' 'You must get out and ride your faithful gray,' the doctor said. He shook his head and looked upward; and once when his daughter Agnes urged him to take medicine, he looked at her and said, 'It is no use.' Human love was powerful, human aid powerless. Hope and Despair were twin watchers by his bed-side. At first, as his disease seemed to yield to treatment, Hope brightened, but soon Despair alone kept watch. During the afternoon and night of October 10th shadowy clouds of approaching dissolution began to gather, a creeping lethargy captured the faculties, and the massive grandeur of form and face began to contract. During the succeeding day he rapidly grew worse; his thoughts wandered to the fields where he had so often led his gray battalions to victory; and like the greatest of his captains, Stonewall Jackson, whose expiring utterance told 'A. P. Hill to prepare for action,' he too, in death's delirium, said, 'Tell Hill he must come up;' 'For the last forty-eight hours he seemed quite insensible of our presence,' Mrs. Lee states; 'he breathed more heavily, and at last gently sank to rest

with one deep-drawn sigh, and, oh, what a glorious rest was in store for him ! ”

Death occurred on the morning of the 12th of October, 1870, when the great Southern leader had reached his sixty-fourth year. Two days later, the College chapel received all that was mortal of the deceased warrior, and on the 15th the casket enclosing his remains was, after a brief but impressive service, lowered into a vault in rear of the College chapel, where, later on, his wife and daughter Agnes also found burial.

“ Tolling bells,” relates the sympathetic biographer, from whose work we have already made quotation, “ first proclaimed the sad intelligence ” (of the death of the warrior) to the citizens of Lexington, electric wires flashed it to the world. Throughout the South business was suspended, schools were closed, societies and associations of all sorts assembled, where eulogistic speeches were made, and resolutions passed laudatory of General Lee’s life, and lamenting his death. In those adopted by the faculty of the College it was declared that ‘ his executive ability, his enlarged views of liberal culture, his extraordinary powers in the government of men, his wonderful influence over the minds of the young, and his steady and earnest devotion to duty,

made the College spring, as if by the touch of magic, from its depression after the war to its present firm condition of permanent and widespread usefulness'; that it was 'a deep satisfaction to receive his remains beneath the chapel he had built; ' and that the 'memory of his noble life will remain as an abiding inspiration to the young of the country as they gather at the last scene of his labors, to emulate his virtues and to follow his great example.' "

Equally sincere and hearty were other laudatory comments on the man and his career expressed by prominent people and influential public bodies throughout the South. At a Lee Memorial meeting, held at Richmond on Nov 3rd, one of Lee's old colleagues in the war, Major-General Gordon, thus admiringly spoke of the hero : " Of no man whom it has ever been my fortune to meet can it be so truthfully said as of Lee, that, grand as might be your conception of the man before, he rose in incomparable majesty on more familiar acquaintance. This can be affirmed of few men who have ever lived or died, and of no other man whom it has been my fortune to approach. Like Niagara, the more you gazed, the more its grandeur grew upon you, the more its majesty expanded and filled your spirit with a full satisfaction,

that left a perfect delight without the slightest feeling of oppression. Grandly majestic and dignified in his deportment, he was as genial as the sunlight of May, and not a ray of that cordial social intercourse but brought warmth to the heart, as it brought light to the understanding." At the same meeting, the ex-President of the Confederate States, the Hon. Jefferson Davis, remarked that "this day we unite our words of sorrow with those of the good and great throughout Christendom, for General Lee's fame has gone far over the water; and, when the monument we shall build to his memory shall have crumbled into dust, his virtues will still live—a high model for the imitation of generations yet unborn." Another prominent figure and fellow actor in the war, Lee's close friend, General J. E. Johnston, wrote thus to the lamenting widow, three days after her great loss :

" MY DEAR MADAM :

" Although you are receiving the strongest proofs that a whole people are sharing in your great sorrow, I venture to write, not merely to say how I, General Lee's earliest and most devoted friend, lament his death, and how sadly the event will visit my memory while I stay on earth, but, still more, to assure you of my deep sympathy in

this greatest bereavement a human being can know, and of my fervent prayers to our merciful God that He may grant His help to you and your children.

“Most sincerely and truly your friend,

“J. E. JOHNSTON.”

Commenting on Lee's military reputation, General Fitzhugh Lee truly and admiringly observes, that : “In strategy, it is certain Lee stands in the front rank of the great warriors of the world. He was a greater soldier than Sir Henry Havelock, and equally devout as a Christian. . . . He had the swift intuition to discern the purpose of his opponent, and the power of rapid combination to oppose to it prompt resistance. . . . The world places Lee by the side of its greatest captains, because, surrounded on all sides by conflicting anxieties, interests, and the gravity of issues involved, he only surrendered his battle-stained, bullet-riddled banners after demonstrating that all had been done that mortal could accomplish. The profession of the soldier has been honored by his renown, the cause of education by his virtues, religion by his piety.”

One more comment we must permit ourselves, and that on the subject of the great soldier's per-

sonal appearance and power of impressing all who came in contact with him. The extract is from the narrative of a visit to General Lee, in the Spring of 1870, by a Canadian cavalry officer and writer on military tactics, Lt.-Col. Geo. T. Denison, who was, moreover, a great admirer of the General. Colonel Denison writes : " General Lee impressed one exceedingly. I have seen some men whom the world esteems great men, but I have no hesitation in saying that no man ever impressed me as did General Robert E. Lee. In stature he was about five feet ten inches, but from his splendid figure and magnificent carriage, as well as from the massive appearance of his head, he seemed much taller. He looked the very personification of high and pure intelligence. No one could fail to be at once impressed, nay, awed, by the calm majesty of his intellect ; while there was an almost childlike simplicity and kindness of manner that irresistibly won upon you at once. He was one of those men that made the ancients believe in demi-gods. His defeat served but to add to his greatness ; for nothing could shake his equanimity. In all his reverses not a complaint escaped him, not a murmur did he utter, although he must have felt keenly the wrongs and sufferings of those for whom he had fought so well."

The calm dignity with which Lee met adversity, here referred to by Colonel Denison, has been the subject of many approving remarks, and, with his quiet reticence in submitting finally to the inevitable, won for him Northern sympathy as well as elicited Southern pride. In his long, brilliant, but unequal struggle, when in command of the Army of Northern Virginia, he was never known to repine or manifest the slightest resentment or bitterness. Such even was his command of temper that, as has often been said, he was never seen angry, and rarely had a disapproving or condemnatory word to say of any one. In this respect, his self-restraint was as remarkable as was his self-possession and uniform moderation. In short, rarely in the annals of war is there a nobler record to be met with of an army leader who combined in his person the highest qualities of a soldier-hero and a Christian. Nothing in his resplendent career dims the luster of his character in the latter respect, or qualifies the example he ever set before him of a humble and trustful soldier of Jesus Christ. As a constant and consistent follower of his divine Master, General Lee's example had a beneficent influence upon all who came in contact with him ; while his trustfulness in a Guiding Power marked the man in all his

dealings, and in every difficulty or emergency he had to confront. Very beautiful in this aspect was his life, while most winning was his bearing and manner, and grandly inspiring his influence and example.

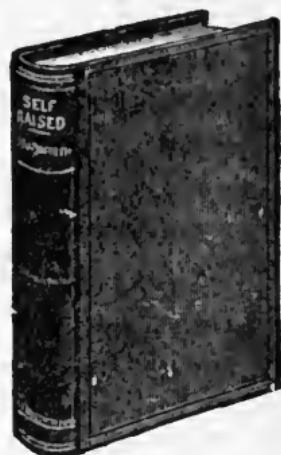
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